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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

From the year 1423. until the year 1542.

CONTAINING

The LIVES and REIGNS

OF

JAMES

The I. the II. the III. the IV. the V.

With several

Memorials of State,

During the Reigns of *James* VI. & *Charls* I.

By WILLIAM DRUMMOND of *Hauthornden.*

With a Prefatory INTRODUCTION

By Mr. *Hall* of *Grays-Inn.*

LONDON,

Printed by *Henry Hills*, for *Rich. Tomlins* and himself, and are to be sold at their houses near *Py-Corner.*

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

TO *speak in Commendation of* History *in general, were so many waies superfluous, that we shall rather leave it to the experience of sober and inquisitive minds, than injure the High* Elogiums *given of both the greatest and wisest* Antients *and* Moderns, *by a disadvantagious Repetition of them. And for to say any thing concerning the Countrey, which was the Scene of the actions here represented, we conceive it needless and improper, in regard we are immured by one Sea, breath one air, speak one Tongue, and now closed together by an happy Coalition under one Government.*

The proper work therefore is to offer what can be said of the History *and the* Author, *and so dismiss the* Reader *to the Entertainment of the Book it self. For his manner of Writing, though he treat of things that are rather many than great, and troublesome than glorious, yet he hath brought so much of the main together, as it may be modestly said, none of that Nation hath done before him: And for his way of handling it, he hath sufficiently made it appear, how conversant he was with the Writings of Venerable Antiquity, and how generously he hath emulated them by an happy imitation; for the purity of his Language is much above that Dialect he writ in; his Descriptions lively and full, his Narrations clear and pertinent, his Orations Eloquent, and fit for the persons that speak (for that since* Livys *time*

was never accounted Crime in an Hiſtorian) *and his Reflections ſolid and mature; ſo that it cannot be exſpected that theſe leaves can be turned over without as much pleaſure as profit, eſpecially frequently meeting with ſo many Glories and Trophies of our Anceſtours; yet becauſe either of theſe may a little abate, in reſpect the beginning ſeems a little abrupt and precipitious (the Author poſsibly dying before he could prepare an* Apparatus *or* Introduction, *we have taken the pains, out of other Records of that Nation, to draw a brief Repreſentation of ſome paſſages neceſſary to be foreknown.*

The direct Royal Line of *Scotland* failing in *Alexander* III. (Son of the II. of that name) who when he a few years before had loſt both his wife, and all his hopeful and numerous iſſue, nothing remaining of it, ſaving a Girl to his Daughter, brought to *Hungonan* King of *Norway*. The Nobility hereupon meet at *Scone*, and put the Kingdom into the hands of ſix Perſons. *Edward* of *England* ſends to demand the Daughter Grandchild in marriage, as next Heir of the Crown. This was agreed unto, Embaſſadours ſent for her, but the death of the Lady fruſtrated all that Negotiation. The death of this *Margarite* (ſo was ſhe called) was the firebrand that ſet *England* on fire, and had almoſt deſtroyed *Scotland*; For two Competitors declared themſelves both powerful, and of great Eſtates in *Scotland*, and ſtrongly ſupported with Forein Confederacies, for *John Baliol* had engaged the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and *Robert Bruce* the *French*: But to be a little clearer we muſt look back; The line thus failing they were forced to run back to the line of *David* Earl of *Huntington* Brother to King *William*; this *David* by his Wife *Maud* Daughter to the Earl of *Cheſter*, had three Daughters, *Margaret* married to *Allan* of *Galloway*, the ſecond to *Robert Bruce* ſirnamed the *Noble*, the third to *Henry Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*, who made no claim. Now thus it ſtood, *Dornagil* (the Wife of *Baliol*) claim'd it as grandchild by the Eldeſt Daughter, and *Bruce* as great Grandchild by the ſecond, ſaying, It was not fit that Daughters ſhould inherit when there were Sons to repreſent the Anceſtor; *Baliol* he was neerer, as being in the ſecond degree, and the other but in the third: The Controverſie growing high and boyſterous, and the Power and Intereſts of both parties at home being equally formidable and dangerous, they reſolved to refer it to King *Edward*, who comming to *Berwick* and calling Lawyers to his Aſſiſtance, pretends all Equity, but raiſ'd up eight other petty Competitors, the better to weakon the claim of the other two, and ſo handled the buſineſs whilſt the Lawyers were ſlowly conſulting, that (*Bruce* having refuſed to accept the Crown in Homage and Tribute from *England*) he declared

red (upon his acceptance of those conditions) *JOHN BALIOL* to be King, who was Crowned at *Scone*. But soon after an appeal being made against him to King *Edward* by *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, and he refusing to rise from the Seat where he sate to answer, but being inforced by the King so to do, became so aliened in his affections from the *English*, that a new quarrel breaking out between the *French* and the *English*, and both by their Embassadours Courting the *Scottish* Amity, it was resolved to adhere to the *French*, and renounce the Homage to *England*, as obtained by Fraud and Force; *Edward* enraged at this (having obtained a Truce for some few Moneths with the *French*) assails *Berwick* by Sea, but with some loss, which enflames him the more, summons *Baliol*, who refuses, profers it to *Bruce*, takes *Berwick* by Stratagem, enters *Scotland*, masters the Countrey, takes *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*, and forces *Baliol* to a surrender at *Forfar*, and sends him Prisoner to *London*, whither himself returns, having made most of the Nobility do Homage, and left the Earl of *Surrey* his Deputy. *Baliol* soon after is sent into *France*, leaving his Son *Edward* as Hostage for his fidelity. *Edward* sets sail for *France*, the *Scots* rise and make some little Incursions into the Borders; But about this time Sir *William Wallas* arose, who to his Honour did so Heroically defend his Countrey in her weakest condition, as made it easily appear, if he had had as happy a fortune to advance, as he had a miserable to relieve, he might have been remembred for as great a man as ever was in any age, for having upon a quarrel slain a young *English* Gentleman, and enforced to lurk in the Hills for the safety of his life, he became inured to such hardness, that awaking his natural Courage, he became the Head of all the Male-contents, and filled both the Kingdoms with his Reputation and Terror, and behaving himself according to expectation, glean'd up to a tumultuary Army, and (the Nobility being either sloathful or cowardly) commanded as *Baliols* Vice-Roy; Thus after some little skirmishes, he reduced all beyond the *Forth*, took *Dundee*, *Aberdeen*, and other places, when there arrived rumour of an *English* Army, which he was not willing to dispute with, but upon his own Terms. *Edward* that had fortified all the Considerable places, and kept the chiefest of the Nobles as Honourable Prisoners in *England*, had with-drawn his Army, as thinking all secure, sends the Lord *Henry Percey* with strong assistance to join with his Officers there (for he had heard of the Reputation of *Wallas*) who endeavouring to pass the *Forth*, the Bridge breaking, received a considerable loss, which gave *Wallas* time to reduce the rest of the Countrey;

Countrey; *Wallas* then enters *England*, and for some time ravages, and returns without opposition; and this Fame of his, brought upon him the Envy of the Noblemen, and brought *Edward* with an Army hastily gathered together at *Stainmore*, from whence after looking upon one another they departed without a Blow; from whence *Wallas* came to be rumoured as affecting the Royalty, and brought him such envy among the *Bruces* and *Cumins*, that they were resolved by any means to ruin him, as disdaining that the fortune of the Kingdom should rely on so mean a person. But the *English* entring *Scotland* again with a great Army, and finding the *Scots* disposed under three Leaders (who among themselves disputed Priority of Command) marcht up to them, where they found the *Cumins* (who commanded one Brigade) depart without opposition; The *Stuarts* (who had another) being all cut to pieces, and *Wallas* (who had the third) forced to retire to the River *Caroon*. Thus lost *Wallas* his title & formal Army, whilst with a Predatory Army he never left to infest the *English*, whilst *Edward* regained the lost places; but the *Scots* having in vain endeavoured Truce or Mediation, were resolved to put all upon the Dy, and made a general insurrection, to oppose which King *Edward* sent *Ralph Conyers*, with a considerable Army to reduce the revolted places, and make an end of the War, but they, by a Triple Victory, were routed at
1302. *Rosin* the 10. of *March* 1302. *Edward* stung with this, makes an other Entry, in which *Wallas* perpetually infested him, and again reduces the Countrey, all swearing allegiance at *Saint Andrews*, but *Wallas*, who returned into the *High-Lands*. *Edward* changing the Laws, carrying away all Records, and returning with all the Marks of any absolute Conquerour, and among other Monuments the Stone called *Jacobs Stone*, in which our Kings have been since usually Crowned. But there kindled another flame, for *Robert Bruce*, son of the other, and *John Cumin*, Cosen German of *John Baliol*, sirnamed the *Red*, wearied by the delaies and unperformed promises of the King, though Competitors, overcame their mutual jealousies, and closd together, on condition that *Bruce* should have the Kingdom, and *Cumin* all *Bruces* lands; which agreement notwithstanding, *Cumin* was after said to have communicated to *Edward*; *Bruce* hath notice, and, by shooing his horses backward, escapes, and arriving at his Castle at *Lake Laban*, meets with *Cumins* Letters advising to cut him off, upon which he hastens to *S. Johnstons*, and after exprobating his infidelity leaves him, in the *Franciscan Monastery*, stabb'd as dead, and
1305. after stabb'd him out-right, with his brother *Robert*. About the same time *Wallas* was betrayed about *Glasgow*, carryed up

to

to *London*, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs hung up in the most eminent places.

And here (to digress a little) from these cruel carnages, might naturally arise some pretty questions, as, Where allegiance and obedience begins and determins? who are properly Rebels, or Lawful Enemies? how far the faith of a Nation, or particular men, are concluded in the Oath of their Prince to a Forainer? and what Limits Conquerours ought to observe to Subjects, not naturally born so? and how far they, never compacting, are oblig'd in the General Compact? "*But these being matters proper for the Civilians, and such as cannot be included in the shortness of a Preface, or Rigor of an Epitome, we shall dismiss at this Time without any further disquisition. Onely at the present we will raise one Note from this Example of unfortunate Courage, How apt great minds are, even out of false appearances of good of their Countrey (the most powerful charm upon the bravest spirits) to rush upon the most violent and dangerous efforts, though it may be their Countrey, by a great deal of devastation and blood, be made a loser by it; and some Territories are so seated, that it is the more happy for them to be under the shade and protection of a greater and more powerful, than be left naked to their own wants, and devastation of prevailing neighbours, under the Notion of preserving an imaginary, Antient, and Notional Liberty, which once launcht into will prove no other than a willingness to shackles, and an obstacle, and an obstinacy to the advancement of the Commodities of life.*

"*And again, let us observe what a strange* Antiperistasis *Oppression and Calamity will make in any people, how inconsiderable heads, meeting with an humour of jealousy, discontent and despair, swell into enormity, and become terrible to, nay oftentimes affront, legitimate force, whereas Nations wantoning in their delights and pleasures (like strong bodyes without Exercise) forget, and weaken themselves, whilest their strength insensibly transpires and vanishes in the warmth of their fruitions.*

But it is high time now to return unto

ROBERT BRUCE,

who having caused himself (after he had staied for the Popes absolution for the defiling the Monastery with the Murder of the *Cumins*) to be Crowned King at *Scone*, notwithstanding his Endeavours at first to strengthen himself, by the enmity of the *Cumins*, and timorousness of his own Followers, was routed by *Edwards* Lieutenants, and forced to the Hills, and for a long time lurkt in great misery, to the great ruin and slaughter of his Family and party; but making together some little force, took *Carrick* and *Innerness*, 1306.

by surprisal, and by this means augmented his Train, and withstood the daring of *Cumin* Earl of *Bughan*, who withstood him with a Considerable strength of *English* and *Scotish* forces, and though a Treaty were desired, would not comply, growing numerous by the accession of other considerable persons. *Edward* the I. dying in an intended expedition thither, left it to *Edward* II. his Son, who hearing some troubles in *France*, sailed thither, and left behind him an Army, which notwithstanding *Robert*, though sick and forced to be held on horseback, defeated; this engaged *Edward* to another Immemorable Expedition, and gave *Robert* time to take
1310. in the Remaining strengths; but the next year, and within two years after, recovered the most considerable, and *Edinburgh* it self, and a little after, by means of his Brother *Edward*, *Sterlin* upon Conditions. *Edward* thereupon enters with a great Army, and many forein auxiliaries; But had a great defeat at *Bannocks-burn*, which occasioned the loss of *Berwick*, and *Bruces* confirmation in Parliament, the declaring of *Edward* (his Brother) to be heir, in case of *Roberts* want of Issue Male, as also making of him King of *Ireland*, at the request of some of the *Irish*, and though they furnished him with some forces for that attempt, yet in the Expedition he and all his followers were cut to pieces. Some few years after were spent in light skirmishes and incursions, and *Thomas Randolph* obtained the battel called the *White*, and quieted the *English*. *Robert*, this time of Repose, conven'd the Nobles, intending to determine the right of inheritances, which many men had unjustly usurped in the times of Rapine and Licence; This brooded a Conspiracy, which being detected, a meeting was appointed at *Perth*, where, by the Conviction of their own Papers, many were executed, some pardon'd; but none drew more pitty from the Beholders than *David Brechin*, the Kings Sisters Son, whose acquaintance, not concurrence, with the Plot was only Criminal.

" *From whence we may consider, That to be a Traytor, is not actu-*
" *ally to engage in Treason, but to conceal it is to foment it: for if in*
" *private Friendships it is infidelity not to reveal a danger to a*
" *friend, it holds stronger as to the Magistrate, who is not only our*
" *Common Friend, but our Parent and Tutor; since the seeds of all*
" *Treasons (like them of Vegetables, lurking quietly, and arising*
" *fruitfully) being cunningly manured, do, by the Co-operation*
" *of bad influences, grow up into poisons, and threaten destruction,*
" *whereas the Sovereign Power, enlivening and peircing all, che-*
" *rishes the more Noble things, and only discovers the imperfection*
" *of the meaner.*

In the mean time a Legate comming from *Rome*, armed with

with all the Thunderbolts of that See (whose force, even that age had wit enough to discern) to threaten them into a peace with *England*, but missing of his Errand, the *Scots* followed him with an Army, and marcht as far as *Stainmore*. The K. of *England*, in revenge, raises an Army so potent and powerful, that it might be supposed they came for absolute victory, not uncertain hazard. *Robert* therefore (like a wise Captain) considering that it was Stratagem not force that must preserve him safe from so great a storm, caused all the Cattel to be carryed into the avious retreats of the Hills, lest they might be serviceable to the Enemy, who, confident of their strength, peirced *Scotland*, and endeavoured to draw him and his Forces out of their Holes: But having wasted all about (sparing only Churches) and wanting Victuals, were forced to retire. *Bruce*, knowing this disorderly retreat, pursues them as far as *York*, and, by a great defeat, was Master of their Baggage, and some Considerable Prisoners; the great occasion of which was imputed to Sir *Andrew Barcley*, Earl of *Carlisle*, who was therefore degraded. This begat two Embassyes, one to the Papacy, for a Reconciliation to it, and the other to *France*, for a Renovation of the old League, both which were obtained with equal easiness, with this addition to the latter, That the King of *France* should be Umpire in controversies concerning the Crown of *Scotland*. About these times (saies Excellent *Buchanan*) the Family of the *Hamiltons* (since so great in *Scotland*, and pernicious to England) took their rise, one of them upon a Quarrel and murder of an *English* Gentleman flying to *Robert* for Protection, who gave him lands, which retain the name to this day; the *Spensers* (upon whose account this quarrel arose) were soon after discomposed, and ruined, and *Edward* himself dethroned, and (as is said) murdered at *Pontfract* Castle, by means of his wife, and *Edward* his Son succeeded, the III. of that name; *Bruce* in the mean time, composing himself to the cares of Peace, by Act of Parliament settles the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon his Son (though a Child) and in case of his decease, to *Robert Stuart* his Grandchild by his Daughter, and for preventing any pretences of *Baliol* (being then old and miserable in *France*) a full release of all his Claim; but the active young *Edward* filling them with the terrour of a new *Bruce*, repaired the defects of his age, and travels, by substituting *Thomas Randolph* his Vice-Roy, whom, with *James Dowglas*, he sent with a flying Army of Horse, into *England*, the better to elude the prevailing force they were to expect, and it happened accordingly, for after tedious Marches, and hardships on both sides, they parted without a stroke, saving onely that 1320.

Dowglas with two hundred Horſe, beat up the Quarters of the *Engliſh* Camp, and cut (as is ſaid) two Ropes of the Kings Tent, and made a good Retreat; this begat a Truce for three years, and afterwards (1328.) a diſhonorable Conceſſion in a Parliament at *Southampton* of all the *Scotiſh* priviledges, and independencyes of that *Crown* (for which ſome after ſmarted) with the Conceſſion of ſome Counties, and Rendition of Monuments, the *Scots* paying thirty thouſand *Marks*: *Bruce* finding himſelf waſted by age and toil, left the Tuition of the Nonage of his Son to *Randolph* and *Dowglas*, retiring himſelf to the Abby of *Kilroſs*, confirming the Settlement of the Kingdom upon his Son *David* (then 8 years old) and *Stuart*, as he had done before, leaving theſe three Counſells behind him (*Illuſtrious Spirits that have long moved in great Orbs, being beſt meaſured, when they are falling below their Horizon.*) 1. Not to let any man ſolely command the *Æbneæ*. 2. Never to put all their Strength at one hazard with the *Engliſh*. 3. Never to make long Truces with them. The firſt being to be feared by their power at Sea. The ſecond for the Fertility, Power and Numbers of the *Engliſh*. The third, to prevent the Enervation of a long Peace. Thus he dyed, leaving Charge with *Dowglas* to convey his heart to the *Holy Land* (whither himſelf had deſigned an Expedition) but *Dowglas*, aſſiſting them of *Arragon* againſt the *Saracens*, was there cut to pieces: Thus ended the reign of *Robert Bruce*. "*A Prince, that mounting the Throne over the Carcaſſes of his neereſt kindred, encountring with the greateſt difficulties and calamities of a Countrey oppreſt by powerful and martial Enemies, bravely ſtruggled with the diſadvantages, and left behind him the Character of a great Captain, and a prudent Prince, and ſuch an one as whoſe Reputation relies upon his ſingle virtue, unleſſe you will ſay he had the aſſiſtance of the heads and hands of his Counſellors and Captains; yet even in the chuſing of One, and the obeying the Other, it muſt be confeſt he was a man excellently ſquared out for Government, and a man the moſt fit to arreſt our Conqueſts in that Nation.*

1330.

Yet, by the way, we ſhall take up one Remark, How much the fortune and reputation of any people, depends upon the Conduct of their Supreme Governour; and we cannot have better inſtance, than by reflecting upon the preceding Hiſtory. Edward I. (*worthily called* Coeur de Lion) *brought them in their greateſt power upon their knees; His Son (an effeminate and weak Prince, enchanted with Flatteries, and loſt in Softneſs) could not preſerve an acquired Dominion, but loſt it with ignominy; His Son, for a time (which we muſt call his pupillage of War, he did ſuch wonders afterwards) was unſucceſsful, and all this through the Oppoſition, Courage and Conduct of*

one

one unfortunate person; And indeed, upon survay of all Histories, we shall find, that the ability and excellency of the Prince hath been the most powerful ascendent of the Genius of a Nation, and that the Governing mind of the World, when ever it determines any to glorious actions, raises up such Leaders, as by their wisdom, and example, may lead them to the performance of its own secret determinations.

And again, How infectious the example of a bad or weak Prince, which, like an unhappy contagion, perverts and infects the manners of a people, and so much the more easily seduces them, by how much the mind of man is inclinable to understand better things, and pursue the worse, and most people are more easily emasculated into Vice, than tutured into Virtue.

This Prince being gone to his long home,

DAVID BRUCE

His Son, succeeding, his Coronation was deferred till permission could be had from *Rome* to make the business more solemn. 1331.
The first thing memorable in his reign was the suppression of a sort of Thieves, by *Randolph*, who (if you will believe the *Scotish Story*) was soon after poisned by a Monk, yet bore it so, as he eluded another invasion, though he dyed soon after in the year 1331. the Government devolving to the Earl of *Mar*, in which he was scarce warm, when news was brought that *Edward Baliol* was seen in the *Fryth* with a Formidable Fleet; And it was upon this occasion, *Lawrence Twine*, a Fugitive *Englishman*, that had planted himself in *Scotland*, being for his lewd life excommunicated, slew the Bishop of *Final*, and used such inducements to *Edward* (Son of *John Baliol*, formerly King) by the minority of the King, the raging discontents of the People and Exiles, the want of the Regents, *Randolph* and *Dowglass*, that he, knowing *Edward* prepared great Forces against *Scotland*, perswaded him to imbarque in the Enterprize, and he made so good a Party, that he landed at *Kingkorn*, and defeated *Alexander Seatoun*, who made some opposition; and marching to *Perth*, did, by a secret passage over the River, rout the Enemy, slay the most considerable Commander, and take the Town, taking Prisoners also many of the best quality, so that growing numerous, by the accession of such as had a mind to share in his good and unexspected Fortune, he in the year 1332. caused 1332.
himself to be Crowned King at *Scone*, by the name of

EDWARD BALIOL.

But the party of the *Bruces* not resting here, send him to *Philip* of *France* with his wife, and choose *Andrew Murray*, his Cousen, Regent, and making a party, after three Moneths siege,

re-

recovered *Perth*, *Baliol* in the meak time was at *Annandale*, receiving the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the Countrey, among whom (ſo high was the Reputation of his Acqueſts) that *Alexander Bruce*, L. of *Carid* and *Galloway*, forſook his Kinſman, and ſubmitted to the Conquerour, who, by this means, became ſo beſotted with a contempt of the Enemy, and ſo neglected Diſcipline; which being known to the Vice-Roy, he ſent a party of Horſe under *Archibald Dowglas*, and others, who beat up his quarters, and routed them, himſelf eſcaping
1332. half naked, and his moſt conſiderable Friends ſlain. The Nobility hereupon flocking to the Party of the *Bruces*, they conſult, and reſolve, that *Baliol* acts but the King of *England*'s Deſigns, fortifie *Berwick* and the Borders, and ſtanding in this poſture of Defence, ſent to K. *Philip* and *David*, to give them account of things. Nor were the *Engliſh* unwilling to take the Advantage of the Diſcord, he therefore protects *Baliol*, and under pretence of demanding *Berwick*, which was denyed, brings an Army againſt *Scotland*, beſieges *Berwick* by Land & Sea, which to divert, *Archibald Dowglas*, newly appointed Vice-Roy, makes an attempt upon the *Engliſh*, but
1333. was routed with great loſs, in the year 1333. which occaſioned the Rendition of the Town; *Edward* hereupon withdrawing into *England*, leaves the reducement of *Scotland* to the care of *Baliol* and *Edward Talbot*, who gained it all except ſome few Strengths; *Baliol* (though diſturbed with a controverſie about the Lands of *John Moubray*) ſurveys the Country, fortifies the Caſtle of *Rothſay*, narrowly purſues *Robert Stuart* (after King) who in a ſmall bark eſcaped to the Garriſon of *Dumbarton*, and after laies ſiege to the Caſtle in the Lake *Leven*, which he left to the Management of Sir *John Sterlin* and others, but *Sterlin* going to a Fair at *Dunfermling*, the beſieged let the Lake into his Trenches, and raiſed the ſiege. The *Engliſh* came in again with an Army, ſwept all, carryed *Baliol* home with them, and left *Cumin* Earl of *Athol*, Lieutenant of *Scotland*, who waſted all the Lands of the *Stuarts*. By this *Robert Stuart* unexpectedly breaks out, and being followed by the *Cambells*, takes the Caſtle of *Botan*, and having acceſs of many conſiderable perſons, is made Vice-Roy, and forces *Cumin* to his party, and diſperſing the War, called a Parliament at *Perth*, where nothing could be done by reaſon of the diſſention of *Cumin* and *Dowglas*. But the *Engliſh* enter with a great Army, and (though their Auxiliary *Guelders* were routed) take *Perth*, but their Fleet being harraſt at Sea, were forced to retreat, and the rather in deſign of a *French* War; but ſome of the Nobles ſtill ſtanding out, the *Engliſh* landing in *Murray* reduced all, and, leaving *Baliol*, return. Next year the

the *Engliſh* beſieged *Dunbar*, and ſent in two Parties under *Talbot* and *Monford*, which though they were both routed, yet the ſiege continued; but the *Engliſh* having received loſs by the valour of *Robert Stuart*, after ſix moneths ſtay, being called into *France*, raiſed their ſiege; *Murray* in the mean time dying, *Stuart* was created Vice-Roy till the Return of *David*, and having the firſt year by the means of *W. Dowglas*, gained ſome petty Victories, did the next beſiege *Perth*, which after four Moneths ſtay was reduced, and a little after *Sterlin*, and (by Stratagem) the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; *Alexander* making a happy Expedition into *Northumberland*, and taking *Roxburgh*, and the *Scots* regaining all their ground, except *Berwick*. In the year 1342. *David*, after 9. years ſtay, returns, and after quieting of ſome diſſentions, reſolves an expedition into *England*, though diſſwaded by his Council, by reaſon of want of Victuals, making *John Randolph* General, himſelf going *incognito*, and for two Moneths together depopulated *Northumberland*, but after, declaring himſelf General, made a ſecond Expedition, which met little oppoſition by reaſon of the diverſion of the *Engliſh* ſtrength in *France*, a third to as little purpoſe. A Peace for two years was treated of, which *David* would not accept, without the conſent of *Philip* of *France*, who having a great defeat given him by *Edward*, excited him, by all means, to an invaſion, which his friendſhip perſwaded him to (though things at home were not in Order) and having Marcht ſo far as the County of *Durham*, had his Army routed, and was there taken Priſoner; The *Engliſh* limits being enlarged as far as *Cockburn*, and all *Scotland*, in a manner, depopulated by the Plague and deadly fewds, yet by the encouragement of *John* Son of *Philip* the *French* King, ſome were ſtill making Incurſions, and an unſucceſsful attempt on *Berwick*. By this time *John* of *France* was Priſoner to *Edward*, whom the *Scots* courted as full of Honour and Victory, for the delivery of their own, who (by the Mediation of the Pope) for a great ſum of Money, was redeemed, and ſet free, after eleven years Captivity, and at his Rerurn puniſhed ſome of thoſe who had deſerted him at *Durham*, and endeavoured to remove the ſucceſſion of the Crown, from *Robert Stuart*, to whom he was ſome years after reconciled. The laſt five years of his reign were ſpent in appeaſing domeſtick fewds, and are notable for a great inundation and plague; but things quieting in the year 1363. he retired into a Monaſtery, and declared (in caſe of his deceaſe) *Edward*, or his Son, for their King. This, whether it was cauſed by ſome former Oath, or from wearineſs of War, or deſign of quiet to Both Nations, which being

1337.

1339.

ing universally disliked by the Estates it was like to breed a dissention, which his wisdome closed up. All was now quiet but the Highlanders, whom he appeased by their mutual discords; when Fate in the 47. year of his age, the 39. of his Reign, came to Eternal Rest, in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the year 1370. 1370.

By this King and his competitor Baliol *(who went out in the snuff) we may in part measure the interests and advantages of Princes; the one by the assistance of a Potent Neighbour did unexpected things, yet failed in Conduct and Management; the other, wanting neither spirit nor vigilancy, became a Captive and ineffectuall Prince; which may give us occasion to observe, That though Travel do best inrich the mind with variety of observation, yet it is not so successfull in Princes; for their Minds not being exempted from humane weakness, may draw in tinctures and prejudices not consisting with the humors of them they are to govern, and by knowing abroad grow strangers at home, neglecting to study the humor of the People they ore set over; the disquisition of which is certainly the greatest Mystery and Chain of Government: The People being an unruly Beast, easily led, impossible to be forc'd, and the Magick that so powerfully forces them, no other than a piercing, discerning, flattering, or eluding their Humour.*

This was Davids *Fundamental fault, which, like Error in the first concoction, multiplied it self through the rest of his Reign. He was bred a Stranger, knew not the disposition of his people, met with troublesome Times, and a Formidable Enemy, and therefore he may very well be charged with three oversights; First, after three, not unfortunate, incursions into* England, *then imployed by* France, *not to rest there with his proportion of glory and prey: But secondly, By the allurement of the* French *King, and that upon a score of Friendship; whereas Friendships of Princes and Private Men are different, the one being particular, the other diffusive and concerning Millions; besides, that Princes are to consider the interest of their States, not their private inclinations. And for the third, To make an invasion, when he left so high discontents in a turbulent people behind, besides those of his own, that by force, obligation or interest were devoted to a victorious Enemy, and assured of his own Countrey, was very imprudential, both in going to find out an Enemy, whose force he knew not, and leaving behind him Subjects, whose malice and force he understood not.*

But no more to disturb his ashes; Had he had another Countrey, another Enemy, another Education, and other Circumstances of Time, he might have been as glorious as any of his Predecessors, it is the more probable (though the Change of Time does often heighten and aggravate the Vices of Princes) there is nothing either Cruel or Vicious recorded of him. So that even in the severest sense we may

dismiss

dismiss him with this Character, That he rather was unhappy than sloathful in his Government.

This mans eyes being for ever closed, the Nobility appointed a meeting for the accepting of

ROBERT STUART

For their King, as he was formerly designed, who appeased the dissention of the Earl *Dowglas* by marrying his Daughter to the Earls Son. His first two years were spent in making incursions upon the *English*; the Kings wife dying in the next year, he maries *Elizabeth Moor* his own Concubine, the better to legitimate the children he had by her, and them he honoured with Titles, and declared his Successors; two years after an attempt is made on *Berwick*, but in vain, and *Talbots* Expedition frustrated, but a Truce for three years was concluded; which being expired, little quarrels awoke again, and occasioned the Duke of *Lancaster* to be sent thither with a great Army and Navy, though not with the same fortune at Sea as at Land, which occasioned the return of the Duke, who was pursued by some small depredations of *William Dowglas*, though his Son of the same name, and some others, during a Treaty, made an inroad as far as *Newcastle*. *Robert* having assistance from *France*, is forced to retire, especially upon the news of *Richards* (Grand-child and Successor to *Edward* the third,) marching with a great Army, fac'd the *Scots* with an unbloody bravery. The *Scots* designing to besiege *Roxburgh*, but quarrelling with the *French*, it came to nothing; which occasioned so much dissention, that it arrived at this pass, That the *French* should pay for their plunder and be dismist, their general remaining as hostage for their satisfaction; whilst *William Dowglas* (who had maried the Kings Daughter) makes an expedition into *Ireland*, plunders *Kerlingford*, and knowing his Father to be imployed against the *English*, hastens to his assistance. The attempt was in affront of *Richard* then struggling with Domestick difficulties; But they of *Scotland* being unable to live without War and Rapine, they were resolved to make a business of it, and because the King, and his eldest Son were infirm, came to choose (privately) the second for their Leader; but this being discovered by the *English*, they altered their Resolution, and resolved to divide themselves, one by the way of *Berwick*, the other of *Carlisle*, the former party led by *Dowglas* gave a defeat to the Lord *Percy*, with the loss of his Life (the other not having the like Success) who impatiently fighting before the comming up of the Bishop of *Durham*'s Forces, lost his own and indangered the others. This happened in the year 1388. at *Otterburn* in *Northumberland*. The King being

ſpent with age, makes *Robert* his ſecond Son his Vice-Roy, (his eldeſt being unactive) who to affront *Peircey*, that ſeemed to leſſen the loſs, led in an Army, but after facing returned with ſome little depredation. Soon after a Peace was mediated between the *French* and *Engliſh*, in which *Robert*, without conſent of a Parliament, would not be comprized; But his doubts were all reſolved by death in the year 1390. when he had lived 74. years, and reigned 19. being followed to the grave with ſuch acts of Barbariſm, as have been frequent in that place.

He is a Prince we find little ſaid of, as to his perſon, and poſſibly beſt to be conſidered in the Negative; We find many things done by his Captains, not by him; which notwithſtanding we may rather attribute to the ſtirring and violent humour of that age, than either his age, want of Genius, or love of quiet; yet herein appears ſomewhat of his Character, that meeting with turbulent times, and a martial people, he met not with any Inſurrections, and was a gainer; and though he did it by other hands, we muſt ſuppoſe that their Motions were directed by his Brain, that communicated Motion and Spirits unto them, ſince the Minds of Kings, like the firſt Mover, turn all about, yet are not perceived to move, and it was no humane wit ſaid their hearts were unſcruitable.

The ſame year his Eldeſt Son *John* was called to ſucceed, who thinking that name ominous to Kings (and there wanted not examples) as of him of *England*, and him of *France*, and fancying ſomewhat of the felicity of the two former *Roberts*, was crowned King by the name of

ROBERT the III.

This man being unactive, the weight of the Government reſted upon his Brother *Robert*. The firſt ſeven years of his Reign paſt in a calm with *England*, by reaſon of two Truces, but not without ſome fierce fewds among his Subjects, one whereof was very memorable between *Thomas Dunbar* Earl of *Murray*, and *James Lindſay* Earl of *Crawford*, and was moſt high, inſomuch that ſeeing the difficulty of reducing them, he reſolved to make this propoſition to them, That 300. of each ſide, ſhould try it by dint of Sword before the King, the conquered to be pardoned, and the Conquerour advanced; This being agreed on, a place was appointed on the Northſide of *St. Johnſtons*, but when they came to join battel, there was one of one ſide miſſing, whom when his party could not ſupply, and none would relinguiſh the other, a Tradeſman ſtept out, and for half a *French Crown*, and promiſe of maintenance for his life, filled up the company. The fight was furious, but none behaved himſelf more furiouſly than the Mercinary Champion, who they ſay was the greateſt

teſt cauſe of the Victory, for of his ſide there remained ten grievouſly wounded, the other party had but one left, who not being wounded, yet being unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of the other, threw himſelf into the *Tey* and eſcaped. By this means the fierceſt of two *Clanns* being cut off, the remainder, being headleſs, were quiet. Two years after the King in Parliament made his two Sons Dukes, a title then firſt brought into *Scotland*. Next year *Richard* the ſecond of *England* being forced to reſign, *Henry* the fourth ſucceeded, in the beginning of whoſe reign, though the Truce was not ended, the ſeeds of War began to bloom out, and upon this occaſion, *George* Earl of *March* had betroathed *Elizabeth* his Daughter to *David* the Kings eldeſt Son: *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglas*, not brooking this, gets a vote of Parliament for revocation of this mariage, and by the power of *Robert*, the Kings Brother, made a mariage between *Mary* his Daughter, and *David*, and, giving a greater ſum, got it confirmed in Parliament. The Earl of *March*, nettled at this, demands redreſs, but being not heard, leaves the Court, and with his Family and Friends goes into *England*, to the Lord *Peircey*, an utter Enemy of the *Dowglaſſes*, waſts *March*, and eſpecially depradating the lands of the *Dowglaſſes*. The *Scots* declare the Earl of *March* an enemy, and ſend to demand him up of the *Engliſh*, who deny to ſurrender him. This made *Hot-ſpur Peircey* and *March*, make ſeveral incurſions into *Scotland*, till at laſt they were repulſed at *Linton*-Bridge by the *Dowglaſſes*. This was about the year four hundred, at which time War was denounced, and the *Engliſh* entered with a great Army, took *Haddington* and *Lieth*, and laid ſiege to *Edenburgh* Caſtle, *David* the Kings Son being within it, which the new Governour, ambitiouſly delaying to relieve, the *Engliſh*, ſatisfyed with the terrour they brought, retired again. After which *March* did not ceaſe his little incurſions; which to be revenged of, *Dowglas* divided his forces into two Squadrons, the firſt to *Halyburton*, who returned from *Barmborough*, with ſome prey; the ſecond and greater to *Patrick Hepburn*, who unwarily roving with his prey, was ſet on by the *Engliſh*, and with all the youth of *Lothian*, put to the Sword. To revenge this, *Dowglas* gets together 10000. men, and paſſing beyond *Newcaſtle*, met with young *Peircey*, &c. who at *Homildon*, a little village in *Northumberland*, in the year 1401. gave him and his Party ſuch a conſiderable defeat, as *Scotland* had not receiv'd the like for a long time. This put *Peircey* in hopes to reduce all beyond the *Fryth*, but the troubles at home withdrew him from that deſign. By this *Annabel* the Queen dying,

1398.

1400.

David her Son, who by her means had been restrained, broke out into his natural disorders, and committed all kind of Rapine and Luxury. Complaint being brought to his Father, he commits him to his Brother the Governor (whose secret design being to root out the off-spring) the business was so ordered, as that the young man was shut up in *Falkland* Castle, to be starved, which yet was for a while delayed, one woman thrusting in some thin Oaten Cakes at a chink, & another giving him milk out of her papps through a Trunck. But both these being discovered, the youth being forced to tear his own members, dyed of a multiplied death; which murder being whispered to the King, and the King enquiring after it, was so abused by the false representations of his Brother, that grief and imprecations was all the Relief he had left him, as being now retired sickly to *Rot*-Castle, and unable to punish him. The King being solicitous of *James* his younger Son, is resolved by the example of the good usage of *David*, to send him to *Charls* the sixt of *France*, & having taken Shipping at the *Basse*, as he past by the Promontory of *Flamborough*, whether forc'd by tempest, or that he was *Seasick*, he was forced to land, taken by the *English*, and detained, notwithstanding the allegation of a Truce of eight years, and his Fathers Letters. And though it came to the Privy-Council to be debated; yet his detention was carried in the Affirmative. This advantage he had by his Captivity, that he was well and carefully educated; but the News so struck his Father, that he had almost presently dyed, but being carried into his Chamber, with voluntary abstinence and sorrow he shortned his life, three daies longer, *viz.* to the first of *April* 1406.

He was a man of a goodly and a comely personage, one rather fit for the tranquillity of a private life, than the agitations of Royalty, and indeed such an one whose Reigns do little else but fill up Chronologies with the number of their years.

Upon this the Parliament confirm *Robert* for Governour, a man of parts able enough for that employment, but a man of such a violent and inveterate ambition, as would sacrifise any thing to make it fuel to it self. Soon after *Marsh* and *Dowglas* were reconciled.

In the year 1411. *Donald* the Islander, Lord of the *Budæ*, enters *Ross*, as his pretended inheritance, with ten thousand men, and easily reduced it, and flushed by this, goes to *Murrey*, which being strengthless, he easily mastered, and pass'd spoiling into *Bogy*, and approached *Aberdeen*. To stop this torrent, *Alexander* Earl of *Mar*, followed by most of the

the Nobility, met him at *Harley*, a Village beyond *Tey*, where they joined in so bloody a Battel, and lost so many Noble and Considerable Persons, that though Night parted them, neither could pretend to the Victory. To this year doth the University of *Saint Andrews* ow its rise. The next ten years nothing was done between the *Scotch* and *English*; *Henry* the V. succeeding his Father, and being wholly intent for *France*, there was little to do between the two Nations, unless some small incursions. In the year 1419. auxiliaries were sent into *France*, and employed in *Turain*; but they making merry in the Easter-Holidaies, the Duke of *Clarence*, being informed thereof, marches with a party to them; but notwithstanding finding a stout repulse, was himself, with many of his Souldiers, slain. Whilst this happens in *France*, in the year 1420. *Robert* the Governour dies, and *Mordack* his Son, a Sot, was put in his place, which he was so fit for, that he could not govern his three Sons, which was the cause of the Fathers and their ruines. This Domestick Change called home the Forces employed in *France*, but things being settled, others went in their places. *Henry* of *England*, hearing of the Death of *Clarence*, made *John* Duke of BEDFORD his Vice-Roy, himself intending to follow, and carry JAMES of *Scotland* along with him, the better either to winn or suspend the hearts of the *Scots*; but it was in vain, for they said they would not obey a man, that had not his own Liberty. Much action past afterwards between them and the *English*, but we hasten to close with the Author. 1419.

MORDACK, as it hath been said, being Governour, having neglected all Discipline at home, suffered his Sons to come to that petulancy, that they were not only offensive to all the people, but with all disobedient to their Father, who having a brave *Faulcon*, which his Son WALTER had often begged, but in vain, he snatch'd it out of his Fathers hand, and wrung off her neck, which his Father being angry at, *Well*, saies he, *Since I cannot govern thee, I will bring one shall govern us both:* And from that day he ceased not to further the Redemption of the KING, which was after Ordered at an Assembly at *Perth*, and an honourable Embassy sent into *England*, *With which this Author begins his History, and we conclude this petty Labour.*

The succeeding part, which is to continue where he leaves, is expected to be worthily performed by Mr. Saunderson, *and the precedent by the ingenious and learned Mr.* Christopher Irwin.

But because we have made a part of promise to say somewhat of the

of the Author, who hath left himself the memory of an ingenious man, by the things we have of his, and for that it is but too common ingratitude, to leave us better acquainted with the thoughts of men, than with their persons and qualities, many excellent Spirits leaving only their Spiritual parts behind them, and little of their Corporal but their names, we shall set down in brief what we understand concerning him.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND *was the Son of* Sir JOHN DRUMMOND, *and was born in the year* 1585. *and was brought up in* Edenburgh, *where having past through his course of Philosophy, he took the Degree of Master of Arts, and in the year* 1606. *went into* FRANCE, *to study the Lawes, as a way to raise him to preferment at Court. But his wit being of a greater delicacy, could not engage on the toyls and difficulties of that study, as being wholly enclined to ease and retirement, and a prosecution of the easier and softer entertainments of the Muses. In this humour (for he was especially addicted to* POETRY, *having for that purpose sufficiently mastered the* GREEK, LATINE, FRENCH, SPANISH, *and* ITALIAN *Tongues, as may appear by all his things of that nature) lived retiredly with his Brother-in-Law, till he was five and fourty years of age, at which time he unexspectedly maried* MARGARITE LOGANE, *a younger Daughter of the House of* RESTELRIG.

He was not more retired in his Person than careless of his Fame, (all his Poems being printed in loose sheets, and only addressed to his Friends.) Yet though he retreated from all the World, yet he was still found out, for all the Learned, and men of Quality, gave him his due respect. As for his own Countrey-men, the Earl of STERLIN, LEOCHEM, *and Doctor* JOHNSON. *Besides, though he were little in* ENGLAND, *yet* DANIEL, DRAYTON, *and* JOHNSON *visit him by their Letters, and testifyed their esteem of him. All that we have of him is this Book, and his Poems, of which when they are to be published, you will have have better information. In this manner he continued a harmless, and a virtuous life, till in the year* 1649. *he was summoned to pay his great debt to Nature, having left a little before his death, a quantity of books to the Library of* Edenburgh.

Having premised thus much to satisfy the Reader, as worthy to be foreknown, though I have had little encouragement for my pains, I shall cease being ingenious in another mans book, and attend the restitution of that without which my self cannot subsist.

From my Chamber
Jan. 24. 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

THE

IAMES: I. KING OF
Scotes. Anō: 1424
R. Gaywood fecit:

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of Iames the first, KING of SCOTLAND.

THE Nobles of *Scotland* being wearied with the form of their present Government; for though they had a *King*, they enjoyed not the happineſs of his ſway, by his reſtraint afar off, under the power of a Stranger; ſome of them were poſſeſſed with hopes by the change of the *Head*, to find a change in the *Body* of the State, and a flow of their ebbing Fortunes; the *Church-men* and the *Gentry* having ever continued loyall and well-affected to the Lawful Heir of the Crown; the *Commons*, men delighting in Novations, and ordinarily preferring uncertainties, things unſeen and to come, to what for the time they did hold and enjoy; the Governor of the Kingdom alſo himſelf, irritated by the miſdemeanour of his Children, and forecaſting the danger he might be plunged into, if the States ſhould purchaſe the recovery of their King, he not complying to their Deſign: all unanimouſly and together determine without longer prolongings to work the delivery of their Native Prince *JAMES* forth of *England*

land where he had been detained eighteen years as a Prisoner.

They who were chosen and got Commission to negotiate his Liberty were *Archembald* Earl of *Dowglass*, Son to *Archembald* Duke of *Turrain*, *William Hay* Constable of the Realm, *Alexander Irwin* of *Drumm* Knight, *Henry Lightoun* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Cornwall* Arch-Dean of *Lothian*.

These comming to *London* were graciously received by the State, and severally entertained by King *James*, and so many friends as either his Alliance or Virtues had acquired. After some few daies stay desiring to have audience in Counsel they were admitted, where Bishop *Lightoun* is said to have spoken to this effect.

The respect and reverence which the Nation of the Scots *carryeth towards all Kings is all where known, but most that love and loyalty which they have to the sacred Persons of their own native Princes: for as Monarchy is the most ancient form of Government, so have they ever esteemed it the best, it being more easie to find one instructed and trained up in heroical virtues, than to find many. And how well soever Governours and Vice-Gerents rule the Commonwealth, yet is that Government but as the light of the Moon or stars in absence of the Sun, and but representations of shadows for reall Bodies. This hath moved the three estates of that Kingdom to direct us here unto you.*

Our King these many years hath been kept from us, upon just or unjust Grounds we will not argue, that providence which hath appointed every thing to its own end, hath done this for the best, both to you and us, and we are now to treat with you for his Delivery. Beseeching you to remember that his Father of Sacred memory recommended him out of that general duty which one Prince oweth to another, to your Kings Protection, in hope of Sanctuary, and in request of aid and comfort against secret, and therefore the more dangerous, Enemies. And to confess the Truth, hitherto he hath been more assured amongst you, than if he had remained in his own Countrey, your favours being many waies extended towards him: having in all liberal Sciences and vertues brought him up. That his abode with you seemeth rather to have been a remaining in an Academy, than in any Captivity, and thus he had been lost if he had not been lost. Besides, though we have the happiness to claim his Birth and Stemm, ye have the claim of his Succession and Education, He being now matched with the Royall Blood of England *in Marriage. Thus his Liberty which we intreat for, is a benefit to your selves, and those Princes which shall claim the descent of his off-spring. For if it should fall forth (as what may not by the variable changes of Kingdomes come to pass?) that this Prince by Usurpers and Rebells were disgarnished of his own Crown, they are your Swords which should brandish, to set him on his Royall throne. We ex-*

pect

pect that as ye have many waies rendred him yours, ye will not refuse to engage Him yet more by his Liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly and freely to receive from you: and by benefits and and love te overcome a King, is more than by force of Arms. And since he was not your Prisoner by chance of Warr (having never raised Arms against you) but by way of Protection detained here, and entertained, so ye will, respecting your ancient honour and Generosity, send him freely back to his own; yet if it be so that ye will have acknowledgemcnt, for what ye have bestowed on his education, the distress of the present estate of his Subjects and Crown considered, We will not stand upon trifles of Money for the Redemption of a Prince above all price.

The Lords of the Council were diverse waies inclined to this Embassie, some thought it not fit to dismiss him. For his remaining in *England* seemed the more to assure the kingdome of *Scotland* unto them; having the King and his children in their custody what dared they not enterprise, or not bring to pass? Or if *Scotland* should plot any thing by way of Rebellion, the King having his party within the Realm, by the assistance of the *English* would keep under the other Factions; and thus the Estate by both being made weak, it would be a fair breach for a Conquest, and the annexing that Kingdome to the Crowu of *England*.

That he knew too much of the Estate and affairs of *England* to be sent away to a Nation ever their Enemies. That being at liberty and amongst his own, he might resent the injury of his long restraint.

Others of the Council thought it best to dismiss him, They had learned by experience that the keeping of the *King* of *Scots* hindered no waies the *Scots* from assisting the *French*, yea rather that it did exasperate their choller, and make them in Revenge addict themselves wholly to the *French*: the Governour no waies keeping to the *English*, and siding the *French*, upon whom to be revenged they could find no surer way than to set at liberty the *King*, whose return of necessity must needs change the face of the State, and trouble him. As for the conquest of the Crown of *Scotland*, it was not at that time of such moment for *England*, they having the most part of *France* in their Subjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold, then it would prove a more harmless and sure purchase to make *Scotland* theirs, by the Succession of *Lady Jane* of *Sommerset*, than by war, the event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any assurance of Man. The Liberty of the *King* of *Scots* might prevent the encreasing strength of the Kings Enemies in *France*, and secure the Peace and tranquillity of the Common-wealth at home: King *James* being all *English* by education, if he pro-

ved not of their Party, yet he must prove neutral to both the Kingdoms.

Henry the sixth, then *King* of *England*, being of under-age was governed by his three Uncles of his Fathers side, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was made Protector of his Person and Realm, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, who was establiſhed Regent of *France*, and *Thomas* Duke of *Exceſter*. But *Henry Beaufoord* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Winchester* and Chancellor of *England*, a man eminent in Blood and Riches, Uncle to the Lady *Jane*, in effect governed all. These gave way, rather then approved that the *King* of *Scots* ſhould be ſet at liberty and ſent home. And though they would have diſmiſſed him freely, in reſpect of the Dowry of his *Queen*, which was not delivered, having uſe of preſent moneys for the maintenance of the Wars in *France*, and the more to cover the injuſtice of his Captivity, they thought it expedient to ſet a Ranſom upon him.

The Commiſſioners having met, it was declared, that for a ſufficient ſum of moneys their King might return and enjoy his own Liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able Hoſtages remaining in *England* till the other half was fully diſcharged. The Ranſom agreed upon was *four hundred thouſand Merks*, but by the power of the *Cardinal* the third was diſcharged for which he was long after accuſed before the King by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Governour and Eſtate of *Scotland*, having known the ſum laid upon them for the Liberty of the *King*, though the haſty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring Glory and things neceſſary to matters of money, immediatly diſpatched ſo much as could be gathered, together with a great many young Noblemen of the Kingdom to remain Hoſtages for the reſt; who (after the *Engliſh* Writers) were *David* ſon to the Earl of *Athole*, *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Gordon*, *John* de *Lyndeſay*, *Patrick* Son and Heir to Sir *John Lyon*, *David* de *Ogleby*, Sir *William* de *Ruthen*, *Miles Graham*, *David Mowbray* and *William Oliphant*. Theſe were honorably received entertained and kept. The Kings Father in Law, the Earl of *Somerſet*, the Cardinal his Brother, accompanied their Neece to the Borders, and there taking their leave returned back. The *King* with the reſt of their Train, received with many Troops of Nobles and Gentlemen, who ſwarmed from all parts of the Kingdom to give him a dutifull welcome into his Native ſoyl, and themſelves the contentment of beholding one they had ſo long deſired and expected, with loud acclamations and applauſes of the Commons as he held his Progreſs, on the Paſſion Week in Lent came to *Edinburgh*.

During his abode there, he aſſembled many of the Eſtates, liſtened to their Petitions, prepared for the approaching Parliament,

liament, which had been summoned before his coming. The Solemnities of *Easter* finished, the *King* came with his *Queen* to *Perth*, and from thence in the beginning of the moneth of *May* to *Scone*, where the year 1424. by *Mordock* the Governor, Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *Fife* (to whom that charge by custom of the Kingdom did appertain) and *Henry* Bishop of S. *Andrews* the 27. year of his Age, there was a joynt Coronation of himself and his Queen, being according to the computation of the old *Scottish* History, the hundreth and one King of *Scotland*.

At which time *Sigismond*, son to *Charls* the fourth, was Emperour of the *West*. *John* the seventh, the son of *Andronicus* of the *East*; *Amurach* the second, Great *Turk*; *Alphonsus* the fifth, King of *Spain*; *Charls* the seventh, King of *France*; *Henry* the sixth, King of *England*; and with *Martine* the fifth, many claimed the Chair of St. *Peter*. *An. Dom.* 1424.

The ends in calling the Parliament were the Coronation of the King, to make the People see a Princes authority was come where they had but lately a Governours; the establishing a Peace amongst the Subjects, and taking away all Factions, the exacting a Subsidie for the relief of the Hostages in *England*. To this last, the Nobles held strong hand, by reason many of their Sons were engaged. Here a general Tax was condescended upon through the whole Realm, as twelve pennies of the pound to be paid of all Lands, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and four pennies of every Cow, Ox, Horse, for the space of two years together. When the Commons had taken it grievously that the Subsidie, granted by the States of the Kingdom in Parliament, was exacted mostly of them; after the first Collection, the King pittying their poverty, remitted what was unpayed, and until the Marriage of his Daughter, thereafter never exacted any Subsidie of his Subjects. For he would gently strain milk, and not wring blood from the breast of his Countrey, rendring the disposure thereof, chaste, sincere and pure for expences necessary and profitable, not for profusions, which neither afford contentment nor reputation; for money is both the nerves which give motion and veins, which entertain life in a State. Amongst others whom the King honoured, *Alexander*, second Son to Duke *Mordock*, was dubbed Knight.

The Parliament dissolving, the King came from *Perth* to *Edinburgh*, where having assembled all the present Officers, and such who had born Authority in the State during the time of Duke *Robert*, and Duke *Mordock*, especially those whose charge concerned the Rents of the Crown, he understood by their accounts, that the most part of all the Rents, Revenues and Lands pertaining to the Crown, were wasted, alienated and put away, or then by the Governors bestowed on their friends and followers, the Customs of Towns and Burroughs only excepted.

cepted. This a little incenſed his indignation, yet did he ſmother and put a fair countenance on his paſſion, ſeeming to ſlight what he moſt car'd for: occaſion thereafter no ſooner ſerved when he began to countenance and give way to Promoters and Informers (neceſſary though dangerous Inſtruments of State, which many good Princes have been content to maintain, and ſuch who were not bad never denyed to hear, but uſing them no longer then they were neceſſary for their ends) to rip up ſecret and hidden crimes, wrongs ſuffered, or committed during the time of his detenſion in *England*. He received the complaints of the Churchmen, Countrey Gentlemen, Merchants againſt all thoſe who had either wronged them or the State, and would have the cauſes of all Accuſers to be heard and examined: Here many to obtain the favour of the Prince, accuſed others.

Upon pregnant accuſations *Walter Stuart* one of the Sons of Duke *Mordock* was Arreſted and ſent to the *Baſs*, to be cloſe kept; ſo was *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cammernauld* and *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock* committed to Ward in *Dalkieth*. Not long after (the Nobility interceding) *Malcolm* and *Thomas*, goods being reſtored which they had taken wrongfully, and Fines laid upon them for their Offence, promiſing to ſatisfie all whom they had wrong'd, were pardoned all faults, and then ſet at Liberty.

The *King* by liſtening to Promoters, came to the knowledge of many great inſolencies committed by ſundry of his Nobles: which as it bred hatred in him, ſo fear in them, and both appeared to ſtudy a Novation; They for their own ſafety, He to vindicate Juſtice and his Authority. The Duke had highly reſented the committing of his Son, as had his Father in Law the Earl of *Lennox*. The Male-contents being many, if they could have ſwayed in one body as they came to be of one mind, threatned no ſmall matter. The *King* from the intelligence of cloſe Meetings, ſecret Leagues, ſome Plots of his Nobles, began to forecaſt an apparent ſtorm in the State, and danger to his own Perſon, whereupon (being both couragious and wiſe) he proclaimeth again a Parliament at *Perth*, where the three Eſtates being aſſembled in his Throne of Majeſty, he ſpoke in this manner;

I have learned from my tender years that Royalty conſiſteth not ſo much in a Chair of State, as in ſuch actions which do well become a Prince. What mine have been ſince my coming Home and Government among you, I take firſt God, and then your ſelves for witneſſes. If all of them be not agreeable to you all, and if any rigorous dealing be uſed againſt ſome, Let him who is touched lay aſide his particular, and look to the ſetling of Juſtice in the State, and publick Good of the whole Kingdom,

Kingdom, and he shall find his sufferings tolerable, perhaps necessary, and according to the time deserved. I have endeavoured to take away all Discords, abolish Factions, Suppress Oppression, as no Forein Power hath attempted ought against you hitherto, so that ye should not endeavour ought one against another, nor any thing against the weal publick and Soveraignty. Slow have I been in punishing injuries done to my self, but can hardly pardon such as are done to the Common-wealth, for this have I called this Parliament, let rapine and out-rage no more be heard of, but every man recal himself to a civil and regular form of life, especially you (my Nobles) think vertue and civility true Nobility, that to be accounted noblest which is best, and that a mans own worth begets true glory. By these and the obedience to their Princes, your ancestors acquired what ye now enjoy, there is no stronger means to keep the goods acquired from a Prince, than the same by which they were first purchased, which is still obeying. Though by leagues, Factions, and the confounding of all true Policy and Order of Government, Man may imagine he can shun the Judicatories of Man, let none how great soever, conceive he can save his wrongs unpunished from the Almighty hand of God. Ye must not hereafter count Authority, honesty and virtue idle names, nor reckon that right which ye may winn or hold by dint of Sword. For me, I will behave my self in my proceedings as I must answer to God, and for you my Subjects do so as ye shall answer to God first, and after to your Prince whom God hath set over you.

No mans Greatness shall appall me in doing right, nor the meaness of any make him so contemptible that I shall not give ear to his grievance; for I will strive to do justice on Oppressors, and support the innocent to my uttermost.

Here he easily found the power which the Presence of a Prince hath over Subjects; for having confirmed the minds of the Parliament, a mutual oath passed between him and his Subjects; The *King* swore if any made warr against *Scotland*, or went about to overthrow the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, to resist and invade him with all his power; The *Estates* swore if any by open Rebellion should revolt or conspire against the *King*, or be found to be the Authors of Factions and Novations, they should assist and side the *King* with all their forces, after what manner he should command. A Solemn Act was made that none of the Subjects should bind up a league together.

The *King* the more to assure the *Clergy* unto him, swore to defend the liberties of the Church, making an Act that all Church lands unjustly detained from them, during the time of his

his Captivity should be restored unto them.

The Body of the Estate holding good for the King, *Mordech* Duke of *Albany* with his Sons *Walter* and *Alexander* were presently arrested and committed: as were likewise *Duncan* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Robert Graham* (a Man that dared give attempt upon those things which no honest man ever could think) they were sent to *Faulkland*, but the Duke to *Carlaverock*. *Archembald* Earl of *Dowglass*, with *William* Earl of *Angus* the Kings Sisters son, *George* Earl of *March*, *Walter Oguylby* were committed, but after set at liberty. *Adam Hepburn* of *Haylles*, *Thomas Hay* of Yeaster, with others were sent to the Castle of St. *Andrews*. That same day the Duke was committed, the King seized on his Castles of *Faulkland* in *Fyfe*, and *Down* in *Monteeth*, out of which he removed the Dutchess to *Tantallon* in *Lothian*. *James* the youngest Son of the Duke, whom former carriage and harmless behaviour had exempted from all suspition of Treachery after the committing of his Father and Friends, whether of a youthfull insolency, or desperate rage, resolving to do and suffer all extremities, or that he was contemned, accompanied with a number of outlaws, and Mountainers on the *Holy-rood Day* called the *Invention of the Cross*, came to the Town of *Dumbartoun*, set it on fire, surprised there *John Stuart* of *Dondonald* surnamed the Red, Uncle to the King, slew him with thirty others; after which cruelty advising with fear and despair he fled into *Ireland* where he dyed. The Wife of *Walter Stuart* his Brother, with her two sons *Andrew* and *Alexander*, with *Arthur* a base born, hasted with him, where they remained till the reign of King *James* the third.

The barbarous fierceness of *James* highly incensed the King against his Father and race, diverted the current of his Clemency; for when he thought by gentle incarcerations to have restrained their malice, now he finds that that deaf Tyrant the *Law* can only secure himself and bring rest to his Subjects. Whereupon the year following he calleth a *Parliament* at *Sterling*, where the estates assembling, the Duke with his two Sons and Father-in-law the Earl of *Lennox* (accusations being engrossed, and articles exhibited against them out of the acts of former times, of what had been done unjustly, cruelly or amiss during the Kings captivity) were presented, arraigned, and condemned: *Walter* Earl of *Athole* being Judge, to whom were adjoined many noble men and Barons.

That same day on which their fatall sentence was pronounced, the two young men *Walter Stuart* and *Alexander* Sonnes to the Duke, were taken forth to the Hill which ariseth against the Castle of *Sterling*, and had their heads cut off. The day following *Mordoch* Duke of *Albanie* late Governour, with *Duncane Lennox* Earl of *Lennox* was beheaded. The

The deaths of these Noblemen, were so far from breeding any distaste in the common People, that out of their depraved disposition and envy against their betters, they flowted at their fall, reproached their insolencyes, delighted in their execution: and as much without reason railed on them when they were dead, as they had flattered them being alive.

Whether by the wisdome of the King it hath fallen out, who caused abolish the Indictment (being against persons so near unto him in blood) or bluntness of those times, which thought such clear evidences needed no Records; the particulars of the Attaindor of these great men are swallowed up in dark oblivion.

Moved at the Imprisonment of his Son, did *Mordoch* with *Lennox* (hating him whom they had wronged) attempt against the Kings person, and that same very Treason which afterward had succes, was it then between the plot, and the execution surprised, and in the very head cut off? The Earl of *Athol*, a man whose desires were both extremly wicked unbounded, was a great actor in this Tragedy.

Did the King, standing in fear of their extraordinary greatness, bend his eyes upon the disposition of the Offenders, squaring their actions by the rule of their intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend? for Princes quickly free themselves from their very shadows in matter of jealousie of State. And they have great reason to prevent such crimes which cannot be punished when they are committed, nor should they expect to amend a mischief when the Criminals are become Masters of their Judges.

People believe not that any conjure against a Prince, till they find the Treason to have taken effect, and distrust the Plot till they see him dead. But the Death of such who are suspected to be the Authors of disorders in a Commonwealth, spareth an infinite number of lives, and much civill blood when they are first surprized, neither are too strict circumstances of Law to be observed when a small delay may abolish all observing of order and Laws.

The Duke to raise his own reputation to the disadvantage of the King with all secrecy of his intentions, had procured himself a vast Authority with the Nobles. by a semblance of liberality wasting the Patrimony of the Crown, as remitting Treasons, restoring again Lands annexed to the Crown. He had studied so conciliate to him the minds of the Commons, that the desire of a King did not much touch them, using such moderation in his proceedings that his Government seemed unto many not only tolerable but desirable.

He had essayed to draw the *Earl* of *Dowglass*, and had drawn the *Earl* of *March*, to enter into a League with him,

and these Noblemen then in the Castle of *St. Andrews*, divided the Nobility and made them break their Allegiance to the King. Upon which attempt it seemeth that that Act of this Kings second Parliament was made. That no Subjects should league themselves together.

The *King* esteemed all that Government of *Robert* and *Mordock* to be an usurpation of the Crown, and feared the like thereafter.

His Son *James* had burnt *Dumbarton*, and treacherously killed the Kings Uncle, which was not done without his knowledge, if not Counsel.

Though he relieved the *King* of his Captivity, he suffered him to remain very long a Prisoner; neither did he practise his deliverance till he perceived the whole States of the Kingdom resolved to call him Home, and was compelled by the injuries of his own Children.

To exasperate new injuries by old rancours, his Father *Robert* spurred by Ambition, had famished to death the Kings Brother *David* in the Castle of *Faulkland*, to escape whose Tyrannie, the King yet a childe was committed to the protection of stranger Princes. What ever the particulars of their accusations have been, it is above the possibility of any Governor, or Man in eminent place and authority so to carry himself, but a discontented Prince, if he will set him to a tryal, shall bring some one or other of his actions to whirl him within compass of Justice. Thus the imprecation of *Robert* the third took effect upon the race of *Robert* the Governor; for after the death of the Duke of *Rothesay* he is said to have cursed him most deadly, praying as he had slain his Brothers Son, and filled their house with blood, so God would punish him, his Stock and Posterity. There is not any wickedness, which beareth not its punishment and repentance at the last, if we can have patience to attend the last act of those Tragedies played on this Theater of the World. By the Attaindor of the Duke, the Earldoms of *Fife*, *Monteith*, and *Lennox* were divolved to the Crown. The Castle of *Inch-Merin* in *Loch-Lommond* which had a while been kept good for *James*, who fled into *Ireland*, by *John Montgomery* and *Humphrey Cunningham* was brought to the obedience of the *King*.

When the Lords and Gentlemen who were in Prisons, attending the Kings pleasure, understood what necessary justice had been executed upon the Duke and his Sons, they were grievously perplexed; yet the King, like a wise Physitian, would take no more blood then might take away the disease and all further causes of Faction. For within twelve moneths thereafter he set them all at Liberty, and received them in his wonted favour, upon promise of their loyal demeanour, and

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dutifull obedience in time to come. But being thus freely discharged, the conceit was taken that *Mordocks* head and his sons, with *Lennoxes* was only the aim, and that they were used but as a Countenance of State to dazle the eyes of the People.

The Wars continuing between the *English* and the *French*, the one to keep what he was in possession of, the other to reobtain what he had lost: *Charls* the seventh, a wise and victorious Prince, knowing the friendship of *Scotland* to be of no small importance to any that would fight against the *English*, the flower and strength of the *Scottish* Souldiers which had followed the *French* Wars being then blasted and spent, sendeth *John Stuart* of *Darnley*, Marshal of a Garrison of Horsemen, with the Earl of *Dowglass* (as the *French* write) then Marshal of *France*, to *Scotland*, to have a fresh supply of Men of Arms, and *Renauld* of *Charteres* Arch-bishop of *Rheymes*, (who there had Crowned his Master, and was Chancellour of *France*) to renew the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots*. But the main business about which the Arch-bishop came, was the trafficking of a Marriage between *Lewis* the *Daulphine*, though then very young, with *Margaret* Daughter to King *James*. This Match the *English* had either neglected or contemn'd, which afterward they sued for. The renewing of the old League and Amity between the two Nations was easily condescended unto, it being but a witness to the world of their mutual kindness. The chief Articles of which were;

The War or Injury, moved or done by the English men *to one of the said Nations, to be as Common-wrong to both.*

If the English men *make War on the* French *Nation, then the* Scots *at the costs and charges of the* French King, *shall minister to them succours.*

Likewise if the Scots be molested by the English Wars, the French Nation *having their charges allowed, shall be to them Ayders and Assisters.*

That none of both Nations shall either contract or make Peace with the Realm of England, *without the consent and agreement of the other.*

The Marriage being found commodious for both Nations, was likewise with great contentment agreed upon, and concluded; fresh recruits of Souldiers were levied, and dispatched with the Embassador to *France.*

The South and Champion parts of *Scotland* brought under obedience, and a peacefull Government, the King will have the remotest Countreys of his Kingdom, even those blocked up and baricadoed by the snowy Clifts of *Grantsben*, to acknowledge his Justice. The wildeness of the soyl had made the Inhabitants there more fierce then Fierceness it self, and let them out to all unlawful Riots and Rapines. To restrain their

insolent humors and bring them within compass of Civility in the year 1426. he caused repair the Castle of *Innerness*, which is situated in the uttermost borders of *Murray*, and by their incursions which had been turned desolate, hither some years after commeth he in person and keepeth open Court, that being near the evil he might have the better means to provide for and consider it. But he seemed to have arrived in some Territory of the *Scythians*, having known and found things which none did nor dared relate unto him, for he had learned that not many miles of, there were men some of which had one thousand, some two thousand Robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive preys from the more civil Neighbours and Borders, pilling and spoiling, poluting and ravishing without any difference of right or wrong, holy or prophane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humours. On the quieter sort they set Tribute, others they compell to Minister to them sustenance and necessaries: The God, Prince, Law which they obey are their barbarous Cheiftains, amongst which he is thought the best who d oth most transcend in Villany.

The King seemed to give smal faith to these relations, entertaining kindly and feasting from all parts, all such who daigned to see him, mostly those who were the Chiefs and Principals of the Families in these bounds, by whose means all whom innocency did guard came freely to Court, and many guilty by fair promises and hopes of the Kings clemency presented themselves. Others, though most refractory and unwilling at first, that they might not seem out of the fashion of their Companions, and appear suspect, resorted thither. Thinking these Offices might be interpreted to proceed of good will and obedience, which were done of emulation. Fourty of these Leaders and Chiefs, meeting at once and being together within the incloſure of the Castle Walls, were surprized and committed to close Prisons. Some daies after, two whose wickedness was throughly known, *Alexander Mack-Rore* or *Mackrarey* and *John Mackcarture* were hanged. *James Cambell* for the murther of *John* of the Isles (renownd amongst his own) was beheaded. The rest upon hope of further Tryall were committed to Prisons, of which for example and terror to others many were executed, the remains in peaceful manner sent home, the King having graciously exhorted them to a life according to the Law of God and Man.

Alexander of the Isles Earl of *Ross*, being taken in this trap was brought by the King to *Perth*, where he was accused of oppression, and many barbarous cruelties were proved against him: yet such was the Kings clemency, he was only some few daies commitied, and after lovely advice at the Coun-

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cil-Table, rather to obey his Prince than render himself Chieftain of Thievish Troops, he was freely dismist, but benefits oblige not ignoble Minds, and mercy shown to a fierce and obstinate nature disgraceth the beauty of the clemency of a Prince; for no sooner was he returned to his own Territories where interpreting imprisonment a dishonour and shame to a Man of his Power and Qualities, and telling that a promise made by one imprisoned by the Judgement of Lawyers themselves was nothing worth, he gathered together a Rabble of Outlaws and Mountainers, came towards the Town of *Innerneß*, which peaceably he entered and was courteously received, having before dispersed his men among the Fenns and Hills toward the West, they, so soon as Night had brought the inhabitants to rest, spoiled them and set their houses on fire. And because the Castle was the place in which he had been surprized, he besieged it with a thousand lewd fellows practised in dayly depredations and Robberies.

At the noise of this Cruelty the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Shires from all quarters assemble themselves for the defence of their Friends, the *King* listeth speedy preparations, at the approach of which the Clans, Whattones and Camerones with other Thieving Troups dispersed themselves and fled into their lurking holes. *Alexander* abandoned of their forces with so many as he could keep together fled into *Lockquhabarre*, from thence passed to the Isles deliberating to go to *Ireland*, but things answered not his expectation, for by his Spie finding that he was way-laid, and that numbers of people, (a prize being set upon his head) in all places laboured to surprize him: when he had long continued desolate, and a vagabond, at last he began to intercede with his Friends at Court for Mercy to him from the King. Sundry tempt the Kings Clemency, but he will not promise nor assure them of any favour before *Alexander* in person as Supplyant render himself and his estate to his disposure. Thus finding no escape, and destitute of all help he was imboldned to come privately to *Edinbrough*; there on *Easter* day wrapped in a mourning Garment, and concealed in the dragg of the multitude, the King being in the Church of the *Holy-rood* at divine Service, he fell prostrate at his knees, beseeching him for grace, which at the request of the Queen and other Assisters he obtained. His life and private estate was granted him, but that he should do no more harm, and be reduced to a more modest behaviour, *William Dowglaß* earl of *Anguß* was appointed to take him in custody, and that within the Castle of *Tantallon*; his Mother *Euphem* Daughter to *Walter Leßly* sometime earl of *Roß* a Manniſh implacable woman, who had solicited and raised her Son to all that mischief, was committed to the Isle of *S. Colm.*

Donald

Donald Balloch, Cousin-germain to *Alexander* Lord of the *Isles*, a man of a haughty mind, resenting the Kings proceedings against his Cousin, raised a great number of Out-laws and Robbers, and invaded *Lochquhabar*, omitting no cruelty, which enraged Savages use to commit. *Alexander Stuart*, Earl of *Marre*, and *Alane* Earl of *Caithness*, with such numbers of People as they could in haste raise, came to defend the Country against the incursions of these Highland men, and rencountred them at *Innerlochty*, where by an over-weening opinion of Victory, which easily deceiveth young Souldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw Theeves, who would never abide their mareh, and misregard of martial Discipline, *Allan* was slain, and *Alexander* Earl of *Marre* discomfited, and *Balloch* insolent of his Victory, with a great Booty returned to the Isles. The King at the Rumour of this disaster in all celerity with a great Army came to *Dunstaffage*, intending from that to pass to the Isles, which when the Clans and other chief men understood, turning their defence into submission, they came in haste to *Dunstaffage*, & humbly begg'd pardon: laying the fault of the whole Rebellion on *Balloch*, and some adventuring Thieves, many of which *Balloch* had pressed to that mischief against their minds: the King finding extream rigour at that time a cure unseasonable, taking their oath of fidelity, and that they should persue *Balloch* and his followers, accepted them in his favor, only transporting some of the most factious along with him. They in few days, to seem worthy of the Kings mercy, surprized a great number of them, three hundred of which died all on Gibbets; & punishment had taken away a much greater number, had he not considered that there is no man so miserable, who is not a member of the State.

The King, lest hope of impunity might cherish Rebellion, resolves to finde *Balloch*, and hearing he lurked in *Ireland* in the bounds of one named *Odo*, he sends to have him delivered; *Odo*, either out of fear of the Kings displeasure, or hope of rewards, seizeth on him; and suspecting if he sent him alive, he might by power or stratagem slight his Convoy, chopped off his head, and sent it to King *James*, then remaining at *Sterling*.

The Clans, Whattons, and Camerons, spairing the Magistrates sword, yet executing Justice by mutual slaughters one of another, had rendred the North very peaceable of that scum of Theeves: some Chieftains were shut up in fast Prisons, among which two most eminent in all mischiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all good men, *Angus Duff* of *Strath-Naverne*, and *Angus Murrey*, these the King out of Policy of State let out and set at liberty, of purpose that they might be thrust forward into a greater danger. Returning to their wilde countreys, *Duff* nothing respecting the Kings clemency, accompanied

nied with many Theeves and Robbers, driveth a great prey of cattel and other ſpoils from the Confines of *Murrey* and *Caithneſs*; which to recover, *Angus Murrey*, that he might attempt ſomething worthy of his life and liberty, followeth with a great power of like Souldiers; having now Authority to juſtifie his revenge on a guilty enemy, he overtaketh *Duff* near unto *Strath-Naverne*; There ſtrongly is it fought, neither of the parties being inferiour to other in number, cruelty, or deſpair. This conflict continued ſo fierce and eager, that of both ſides there remained ſcarce twelve perſons alive, and thoſe ſo wounded that Juſtice had not whom to purſue. An overthrow delightful and commodious for the peace and quiet of all the honeſt and vertuous Subjects of theſe Countreys.

Theſe many executions nothing appalled one *Mac-Donald* born in *Roſs*, a Thief fleſht in all murthers, miſchievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and ſpoil, who by Robberies had acquired great riches. Amongſt other cruelties, he is ſaid to have nailed horſe ſhoes to the ſoles of a Widow, becauſe in her grief ſhe had ſworn in haſte to report his wickedneſs to the King. Being brought to *Perth* by men of his own qualities, with twelve of his Aſſociates, the King cauſed them in like manner to be ſhod as they had ſerved the woman; and when three days, for a ſpectacle to the people, they had been hurryed along the Town, his Companions were Gibbeted, and he made ſhorter by the head.

Groſs enormities cut away, factions repreſſed, the *King* maketh a Progreſs throughout all the parts of his Realm, doing Juſtice upon all ſorts of Malefactors; neither did Pardons granted by the late Governour avail, it being alledged, that they expired by his death; and though ſmall faults might have been paſſed by ſuch remiſſions, yet horrible and crying crimes were not within the compaſs of ſuch authority. Whileſt he thus continues in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, the favorable eye of Providence looketh upon him, and in the year 1430. in the moneth of *October*, Queen *Jane* is delivered of two ſons at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, *Alexander* and *James*; the one deceaſed in his infancy, the other ſucceeded to his Father and was King. To highten the joy of his people, and diffuſe it univerſally, many priſoners are ſet at liberty, amongſt which were *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, Sir *Gilbert Kennedie*, the Kings Siſter ſons; the Earl had been keeped in *Lochleavin* the other in *Sterling*. They had been committed rather upon ſuſpition of the times, then men; having ſpoken too freely againſt the preſent Government; *Alexander* Earl of *Roſs* was alſo ſet at liberty. And that the King intended a real and ſincere reconciliation, the Earl of *Dowglaſs* was made Parent to his Children at the Font; at this ſolemnity fifty Knights were Dubbed, the firſt of which was

William

William Dowglas, ſon to the Earl, who after ſucceeded to his Father in the Earldom of *Dowglas*.

A ſweet calm diffuſing it ſelf through every corner of the Realm, the *King* imagining the reſt of his Raign to be but the enjoying of a Crown, ſets his thoughts wholly to the works of Peace. Many unreaſonable Cuſtoms (which were become to the vulgar, Laws) had many years continued in his Kingdom; theſe he will either have aboliſhed or amended; To this effect, he ſelecteth perſons commended for wiſdom, gravity and uprightneſs of life through his Realm, to pry into all abuſes, hear and determine of all ſorts of quarrels and ſuits, if any were brought unto them, whereof the ordinary Judges, either for fear dared not, or power of ſtronger could not, or for hatred or favour would not give any perfect Judgment. To them he gave full Authority to make Inquiſition of the breach of pœnal Statutes; ſome hereby were puniſhed by Fines, others in their Lives; he took away the deceit which had heen occaſioned by variety of meaſures; for this end certain Iron meaſures were appointed to be made, unto which the reſt ſhould be conform and like; before his Reign not only in every Town and Shire, but in every Mannor and Houſe different meaſures were currant, which abuſe he aboliſhed by Parliament.

The roughneſs of the times, and perpetual wars and troubles of his Anceſtors had near taken away the Arts and Handycrafts, and turned the Sciences contemptible, eſpecially ſince the Reign of *Alexander* the third. The Commons by the manifold changes and miſeries of the Age affecting Barbarity, the Nobles making Arms their whole ſtudy and care; to the further advancement of the Commonwealth, and that his Subjects might have occaſion to avoid ſloth and idleneſs, the King from the Neighbor Continent, and from *England* drew unto him the beſt Artizans and Manufactors, whom either large priviledges or moneys could entice and oblige. Of which ſuch a fair number came, and were ſo graciouſly received, that they forgot their Native Countreys, and here made their perpetual abode. And what till this day *Scotland* enjoyeth of them, owe all their beginning to theſe Times. Schools of learning were founded, to which great Liberties and priviledges were granted, the King well knowing that what ever is excellent in any Eſtate, from them had beginning and ſeed, and that there is no better means to ſweeten and tame the wilde nature of Men then to buſie their ſpirits with peacefull and ſedentary Exerciſes; rude and untrained minds being inclinable of themſelves to tumult and ſedition. To make a neceſſity of learning, he made an Act that none of the Nobility ſhould ſucceed to their Anceſtors Heritage, except they had ſome taſte of the Civil Law or practice of the Country-Cuſtoms, but this after was by them aboliſhed.

Many

Many famous men in all Sciences from the Noblest Universities of Christendom came hither, as to the Sanctuary of the Muses, where often the King himself in person graced their Lessons, and when great matters did not withdraw him, was Umpire to their harmless Conflicts. Being himself religious, he advanced Men learned and of good life to eminent places in the Church; and that the best deservers might be discerned he distinguished the learned in degrees, Making a Law that none should enjoy the room of a Cannon in any Cathedral Church, unless he were Batchelour in Divinity, or at the least of the Cannon Law. Though he challenged King *David* and named him a grievous Saint to the Crown, for dilapidating so much Rent in extraordinary Donations to the Church, yet with great cost and magnificence he founded the Convent of *Charters* in *Perth*, and bestowed fair Revenues upon it: The excellent skill which he had in Musick and delight in *Poesie* made him affect Quiristers, and he was the first that erected in his own Chappels, and the Cathedral Churches of *Scotland*, Organs, being not much known before his Reign to the Nation.

Peace hath its own dangers no less than Wars, yea often such estates as have increased their Dominions, and become mighty by wars, have found their ruin in a luxurious peace: Men by a voluptuous life becomming less sensible of true honour. The Court, and by that example the Countrey, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all delights and pleasures. Masques, Banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling were not only licensed, but studied and admired: Nothing did please what was not strange and far brought, Charity began to be restrained, publique magnificence falling in private Riot. What was wount to entertain whole families, and a train of goodly men, was now spent in dressing of some little rooms, and the womannish decking of the persons of some few *Hermophrodites*.

To these the wise King had a while given way, knowing that delicate soft times were more easie to be governed, and a people given to mild arts, and a sweet condition of life, than rough and barbarous, so they turned not altogether womanized: and that it was an easie matter to bring them back again to their old posture. At these abuses some of the severer sort of the Clergy began to carp, yet could they not challenge the Prince, who in the entertainment of his own person, scarce exceeded the degree of any private Man, yea was often under the Pomp and Majesty of a King: But the blemish of all this excess was laid on the *English*, who by the Queen (their Countrey woman) with new guises dayly resorted hither, and turned new-fangle the Court. The King

not only listened to their plaints, but called a Parliament to satisfy their humours. Here *Henry Wardlaw* Bishop of S. *Andrews*, highly aggravating the abuses and superfluities of Court and Countrey, all disorders were pry'd into, and Statutes made against them. They abolished riots of all sorts of Pearl (many Rivers in Scotland affording them not only for use but for excess) only women were permitted to wear a small Carkanet of them about their Necks; costly Furs and Ermins were wholly forbidden, together with the abuse of Gold and Silver lace. Penalties were not only imposed upon the transgressours, but on workmen which should make or sell them: excessive expense in banqueting was restrained, and dainties banished from the Tables of *Epicures*, with Jeasters and Buffones. In this year 1430. the first of *June* was a terrible *Eclipse* of the *Sun* at 3 of the clock afternoon, the day turning black for the space of an half hour, as though it had been Night; therefore it was after called of the Commons, The BLACK HOUR.

The last and greatest matter which busied the Kings thoughts, was, the increasing of his Revenues, and bringing back the Demeasn of the Crown: a work no less dangerous than deep and difficil, and which at last procured him greatest hatred. For till then smothered malice did never burst forth in open flames. And though this diligence of the king concerned much the publique weal, yet such as were interessed by rendring what they had long possessed (though without all reason) esteemed themselves highly wronged. The Patrimony of the Crown had been wasted and given away by the two Governours, to keep themselves popular, and shun the envy of a factious Nobility; Thus the King had neither in magnificence to maintain himself, nor bestow upon his friends or strangers.

He had advisedly perused all evidences and charters belonging to the Crown; hereupon he recalls all such Lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully usurped.

Together what was wont to be idly given away, as forfeitures, escheats, and wards, were restrained to the Crown and kept to the King himself.

There remained upon considerations of increasing the Demesns of the Crown, the Lands of the Earl of *March*, whose Father had rebelled against the Kings Father *Robert*; though faults be personal, and not hereditary, and the heirs of ancient houses hold little of their last possessours, but of their Predecessours, those the King seased on. The Earl proved by good evidences and writings brought forth, his Father had been pardoned for that fault by the Regents of the Kingdom;

he

he was answered again, that it was not in the Regents power to pardon an offence against the State, and that it was expresly provided by the Laws in crimes of lese-majesty that children should undergo punishment for their Fathers transgressions, to the end that being thus heirs to their Fathers rashnes, as they are to their Goods and Lands, they should not at any time with vast ambition in the haughty Pride of their own power, plot or practice to shake and tear the Publick Peace of the Prince and Countrey.

Thus was the remission by the Parliament declared void, and *Earl George* himself committed to the Castle at *Edenbrough*. *William Earl* of *Angus* Warden of the Middle March, *William Chreightoun* Chancellour, Sir *Adam Hepburn* of *Hailles* immediately received the Castle of *Dumbar*, the keeping of which was given to Sir *Adam Hepburn*.

The King not long after set *Earl George* at Liberty, and to save him from the like dangers which were wont to befall his Predecessours (to fly into *England* for every small cross and light displeasure at Court) he bestowed on him, as it were in exchange, for these lands in the *Mars*, the *Earldom* of *Buchan* in the North, with a yearly pension to be paid out of the *Earl-dome* of *March*, setting the *Tay* and the *Forth* betwixt him and his too kind friends of *England*. *Buchan* had faln to the King by the decease of *John* who was Son to *Robert* the second and *Earl* of *Buchan*, He was slain at *Vernueill* in *France*, with the Marshall *Duglas*, and left no lawfull children after him to succeed. The *Earldome* of *Marre* was incorporate also to the Demesn Royall by the decease of *Alexander Stuart Earl* of *Marre*, who was natural Son to *Alexander Stuart* who was the Son of *Robert* the second. He was a Man of singular prowes, and in his youth followed the warres under *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*; he married *Jane* Daughter to the *Earl* of *Holland*, and had greatly oblieged his Countrey by transporting Stallions and Mares hither out of *Hungary*, the Stood of which continued long after to his Commendation and the commodity of the Kingdome.

The Earldom of *Strathern* was appropriated also to the Crown by the Decease of *David Stuart Earl* of *Strathern*, Uncle to the King, who having but one onely Daughter (who was married to *Patrick Graham* a younger Brother of the Lord *Grahams*) the *Earldom* being tailed to the Masculine Line was divolved again to the Crown. Thus did King *James* succeed to three Brothers who were Sons to *Robert* the second.

All Good-men with these proceedings of the King were well pleased; for if Princes could keep their own, and that which justly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw such extraordinary Subsidies from the blood, sweat, and tears

of their people, yet was this the Shelf on which this Prince perished: for, many who were accustomed to be Copartners of such off-fallings, began to storm and repine at his actions, but none was so implacable as *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, the son of *Eupheme*, daughter to *David* Earl of *Strathern*. For plotting mischief, he began to rail, speak in high terms, associate himself with others of his own mind. Notwithstanding that the King *Anno* 1428. in *September* had bestowed on his Nephew the Lands and Earldom of *Monteeth* in compensation of that of *Strathern*, to which he pretended right, it being an appenage of the Crown.

About this time Embassadors came into *Scotland* from *Ericus* the King of *Denmark*, requiring of King *James* the payment of a yearly Tribute, which was due to him as King of *Norway* for the Western Isles, according to the Covenant and Agreement made by *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, and his Predecessor *Magnus*, the son of *Acho*, then King of *Norway*; the Embassador was honorably received, and Sir *William Creighton* Chancellor, directed to go with him to *Denmark*, who there renued the old League between the Realms, setled questionable matters, and confirmed a perfect amity and stedfast Peace.

Embassadors came also from *Charles* the *French* King, not only to confirm the old Amity between *Scotland* and *France*, but for a better assurance thereof, to have *Margaret* eldest Daughter to King *James* (already betrothed to *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, who now was thirteen years of Age) delivered to them and convoyed to *France*. The *English* foreknowing this Alliance, had before sent the Lord *Scrope* with other Associates to Him in Embassage, to have the old League between the *French* and the *Scots* dissolved, and to joyn the Kings Daughter in Marriage with *Henry* the sixth their King; promising if the King would thereunto agree, and joyn in League with them, that the Town and Castle of *Berwick* should be delivered to the Power of the *Scots*, with all the Lands lyand between *Tweed* and the *Redcross*, which when *William* the Conquerour granted *Cumberland* to the *Scots*, marched *England* and *Scotland*, and is now a fragment of a Cross in *Richmond*-shire, neer the Spittle on *Stanmoore* about which is nothing but a wilde desert.

Having Audience, the Lord *Scrope* spake before the Counsell to this purpose:

["I am directed hither by my Master and his Council about a Business, which concerneth the Honour and profit of the two Kingdoms above any other which can be projected; and it is the establishing of a perpetual Peace and Concord between them,

them, and happily (when it shall please the higher Providence) their uniting in one Body, under one Prince, one day. How vain the attempting of this heretofore by Arms hath proved, the world can but too well bear witness; the many proofs of eithers valour against themselves having been but a lavish effusion of humane blood; the faireſt way, the easiest means to make enmities cease and these ancient Quarrels, was begun, Sir, in your Person, by the happy Marriage of the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Sommerset*, brother to King *Henry* the fourth, and Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and prosperously hath continued these years past: Now that Peace may be lasting, and the affections and minds of the two Nations soldered together, our Request is, that this Alliance may be again renewed, by the Marriage of your eldest Daughter with our young King, a most fitting and equal match. And in seeking of her, we crave but our own; She is descended of our Royal Stem, and if again she be ingratted in that stock out of which she sprang, it is but natural. And you (my Lords) where can ye find a Match more Honorable for both Nations? Where can ye finde a better and more profitable Friendship then ours? Are we not a people inhabiting one Island, have we not both one Language, are we not of like Habit and Fashion, of like quality and condition of life, guarded and separated from the other World by the great depths of the Ocean? What evil Customs have come into your Country by your last Allyance with us? Nay what Civility, Policy, and laudable Fashions (to the confusion of Barbarity) have not followed hereupon? By this the Glory of both Realms will encrease, either being sufficient not only to furnish necessaries, but even all lawfull and moderate contentments of life to support others. Besides that, an assurance of Defence, Strength and Power to invade, ease in undergoing publick Charges will hereby follow.

We are not ignorant that your Lady is designed for *France*; but how long (alas) will ye continue prodigal of your blood for the *French*? What have ye advantaged your selves by your Alliance with *France*, save that they engage your bodies in their Wars, and by conferring upon you unprofitable titles of honour, take from you what is truly real? ye are reserved a Postern-gate, by which they may enter *England*, diverting our Forces, and transporting the Stage of the War upon our Borders. Learn to forget your *French*, or if ye be so enamoured with *France*, Love her after our manner; Come take a share, be partakers of our Victories. Are not our Forces being joyned, sufficient to overcome, nay bring in chains hither that King of *Bruges*, and make our selves Masters of his Continent? *France* never did so much good to *Scotland* in twenty years, as *Scotland* hath had loss by *England* for the love and cause of *France* in one.

one. Are not your wounds at *Vernueil* and *Cravant* yet bleeding, and all for the *French*? It hath been your valour, and not the *French* which heretofore empeached our conqueſt and progreſs in *France*: were it not for your ſwords, we had made ere now the loftieſt tops of the *Alps* or *Pyrenees* bear our Trophies. Ye ſay ye reverence, and cannot break your old league and confederation with that Kingdom (happy Leagues, but wo to the keepers of them!) unhappy *Scotland*, and too too honeſt; and the more unhappy for that thy honeſty is the great cauſe of thy miſhaps. How long ſhall that old league (counted amongſt the Fables of the Ancient *Falladines*) make you waſte your lives, goods, fortunes, and loſe your better Friends? The Genius of this Iſle ſeemeth to cry unto us her Nurſelings to ſtay our cruel hands, no longer to be her deſolation, and the wrack one of another; not to paſs over and neglect theſe fair occaſions of mutual Alliances, which will not only effectuate Truces and Leagues amongſt our ſelves, but at laſt bring a perpetual Peace and Union; for by interchange of Marriages (being united) this Iſle ſhall continue ſtronger by entertaining Peace and Amity, then by all theſe Giant walls, Rampiers of Mountains, and that huge ditch of Seas, by which Nature hath environed and fortified her. Now that ye may know how dearly we eſteem your Friendſhip and Alliance, whereas others go to take from you, we will give you *Roxburgh*, *Berwick*, and all the lands between *Tweed* and *Redcroſs*. If ſhadows prevail and prove ſtronger with you then eſſential reaſon, and that ye diſeſteem our offer, loſing this good occaſion; we as Neighbours and Friends entreat you, that ye do not uphold the *French*, now in the Sun-ſet of their Fortunes, and at their weakeſt; that ye would not ſhoulder this falling Wall; but that ye would live quiet within your ſelves, keeping your own in a Neutrality; receiving both ſides, *French* and *Engliſh* in the way of Friendſhip, neither ſide in the way of Faction."]

The *French Embaſſadour* ſpoke to this purpoſe. *It ſeemeth ſtrange to me that it ſhould be queſtioned and fall within the Circle of deliberation whether old, ever true and aſſured Friends; or old, never truſted, and only Enemies, ſhould in an honourable ſuit be preferred: whether ye ſhould ſtand to a Nation which in your greateſt calamities never abandoned you, or embrace and be carryed away with one which hath ever ſought your overthrow. The* Engliſh *ſue for your alliance and friendſhip, but it is to make you leave your old Confederates, and turn the inſtruments of their ruin, and at laſt bring the yoak of bondage upon your ſelves. The* French *ſue for your friendſhip & alliance, both to ſupport themſelves & hold ſervitude from you; were not your friendſhip with* France, *their power, policy and*

number

number had long ere these daies over-turned your Realm; or had France *but shown her self an indifferent Arbitress, of the blowes between* Scotland *and* England, *ye had scarce till now kept your Name, less your Liberties; can ye prove so ungrateful as not to supply them who supported you? Can ye prove so unconstant, after so many glorious wounds received in the defence of* France, *as cowardly to turn your backs upon her in her greatest need, defacing all the Traces of your former fame and glory? with what countenances could ye look upon those* Scots, *which at* Vernueill *and* Cravant *in the Bed of honour left their Lives, if unrevenged ye should adhere and join your selves to their Enemies and Killers? Now though ye would forsake the* French, *at this time intangled in many difficulties; not regarding their well being, nor be solicitous of their standing: at least be carefull of your own.*

It cannot subsist with your well and safety, to suffer a bordering Nation, alwaies at enmity with you, to arise to that height and power by such an addition as is the Kingdom of France: *So soon as a State hath a Neighbour strong enough and able to subdue it, it is no more to be esteemed a freee Estate. The* English *are already become so potent that no less than united forces of Neighbour Kingdomes will serve to stop the current of their fortune. Neglect not the certain love of the* French, *your often tryed and antient friends for the uncertain friendship and within a little time, forgotton Alliances of the* English *your late reconciled Enemies.*

But it may be, after mutual marriages have one day joined your two Kingdomes in one, they will seek no preheminency over your State, nor make thrall your Kingdome, but be knit up with you in a perfect union: Do not small brooks lose their Names when they commix their Streams with mighty Rivers, and are not Rivers ingolfed when they mingle their waters with the Seas? Ye enjoy now a kind of mixed Government (my Lords) not living under absolute Soveraignty; your King proceedeth with you more by Prayers and requests than by Precepts and Commandements, and is rather your Head than Soveraign, as ruling a Nation not conquered: But when ye shall be joined in a Body with that Kingdom which is absolutely royal and purely Monarchical, having long suffered the Laws of a Conquerour, ye shall find a change and a terrible transformation. The free mannaging of your own affairs shall be taken from you; Laws, Magistracies, Honours shall depend on them, the wealth of your Kingdom shall be transferred to theirs; which to obey and prostrate your selves unto, if ye be found stubborn, ye shall suffer as a Nation conquered, be redacted in a Province, have Deputies and Governours set over you, Garrisons in your strongest holds and Castles, and by a Calm of Peace and Union receive more fearfull blowes than ye could have suffered by any Tempest of war; The miseries of a most lamentable Servitude. What courtesie can ye expect at their hands, who contrary to all divine and human Laws detained your King

eighteen

eighteen years prisoner, and besides an exorbitant Ransom (as if he had been taken in a lawfull war) did not without Hostages send him home? We of France *did never forsake you in your extremities, and we expect ye will assist us with all your power. They are in suit of your Daughter, but it is long after she was assured unto us; in claiming her we claim but our own, this time past ye have only had the custody and education of her, yet if they be so ambitious of your Alliance, God hath blessed you with more than this. But it is not that which they sue for, it is to make you disclaim your Friends, hate those which love you, and love them which hate you: and they are working upon you as upon a rude unpolisht people. They offer to render you* Berwick *and* Roxbrough, *these gifts of Enemies are to be feared; they know it is in their own power to re-obtain them when they please.*

As for that point wherein they would have you indifferent Spectators of the blowes, and that it shall be profitable for you not to meddle with this Warre, ye are too near engaged; neither is there any thing can be more dammageable unto you; for, if ye be not of the party, ye may assure your selves that your Countrey shall remain a Prey and Reward to the Conquerour, with content and applause of the vanquished, who is not bound to succour those who refused to assist and help him in his necessities. Prove firm and constant to us your first Confederates, combine your forces with ours, and by the assistance of that supreme providence who pittieth at last the oppressed, we have fair certainties and true hopes to cut so much work abroad to the English, *that they shall do little or no harm to you at Home.*

The King and Nobles though it seemed more profitable for the present time to follow the *English* (weighing their offers) yet held it more advantageous and sure for comming times, to follow the *French*, for if the *English* should make conquest of *France*, the conquest of *Scotland* would scarce be one Moneths work to their power? and for matter of allyance, God knows how little Princes regard it, when occasion is offered to enlarge their power and Dominion. Thereupon they declare they will not break the antient League and Peace they have kept with France.

The *English* Ambassadours denyed of their suit, went from Prayers and Requests to threatnings and menacings, and having friendship refused, denounced war. If the *King* gave his Daughter to the *French*, that they, if they could, would hinder her passage by Sea, having already a Fleet prepared to this effect, and thus went away the *English* Ambassadours.

The King was so far from being moved by these threatnings, that immediately he made ready his Shipps, and knowing more affairs to be brought to a good end and finished by the op-

opportunity occasions than force and power, with an able Company of Marriners and Souldiers setteth his Daughter to Sea.

The *English* fleet had waited upon her, but (Providence so appointing) she escaped them, and they encountred a fleet of *Spaniards* keeping their course towards the *Netherlands*. Them they beset with fourscore Vessels, commanding the Ladies and all of their Company to be delivered unto them; when they would not accept of friendly answers, they fall to handy blows, till in end by loss of men and some Ships they understood their errour: The Lady *Margaret* thus without danger by the *Western* Seas arrived at *Rochell*, having for her convoy a whole Colony of Gentle-women (the Histories say an hundred and fourty went with her) all of noble parentage, of which train were her five Sisters: from *Rochel* she held her progress to *Tours*, there with an extraordinary Pomp, and magnificence the 24. of *June*, *Anno* 1436. was she marryed to the Daulphin *Lewis*.

The *King* to defray the charges raised by transporting and marriage of his Daughter (the *French* seeking with her small or or no Dowry (these times preferring parentage and beauty before Gold or riches) all that was craved being a supply of Men of Arms for their Support against the *English*) laid a Subsidie on his Subjects, the one half of which being levied, and the people grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half, (it being taken from men who lived hardly in a barren soyl) He caused render a part of it again and discharged the remainder.

At this time by Sea and land the *English* in revenge of the refusal of the offers of their Ambassadours began to use all Hostility against the *Scots*. *Henry Piercy* of *Northumberland* invadeth the Countrey with four thousand men; whether of his own Bravery, abhorring ease and idleness, or that he had a Commission so to do, is uncertain, with him came Sir *Henry Clyddesdale*, Sir *John Ogle*, *Richard Peircy*, and many men of choice and worth, the frontier Garrisons invade all places neer unto them. To resist these incursions *William Dowglass* Earl of *Angus* getteth charge, a man resembling his Ancestors in all virtues either of War or Peace, and the most eminent of his time: with him went *Adam Hepburne* of *Hails*, *Alexander Elphinstoun* of *Elphinstoun* in *Lothion*, and *Alexander Ramsey* of *Dalhowsie*, of all being four thousand strong. These covetous of glory, besides the ancient quarrel of the two Nations, having the particular emulations of the Names and Valour of their Ancestors to be spurs unto them, make speedy journeys to have a proof of their vertue and courage. The Lists of their meeting was *Popperden*, a place not far from *Bramstoun*, *Rhodam*, *Roseden*,

Seden, *Eglinghame*, all cheared with the ſtream of a ſmall Brook, named *Brammiſh*, which ariſing out of the *Cheviot*, loſeth its name in the *Till*, as the *Till* after many windings diſgorgeth it ſelf in the *Tweed*. *Adam Hepburn* and *Alexander Elphinſtoun* led the Van-guard of the *Scots*; Sir *Richard Piercy*, Sir *John Ogle* of the *Engliſh*; *Alexander Ramſey* and *Henry Cliddiſdail* kept the Rears; the two Generals road about the Armies, remembring them of their ancient valour, the wrongs received, the juſtneſs of the Quarrel, the glory of the Victory, the ſhame of the overthrow. No ſooner were they come within diſtance of joyning when the ſound of the Drums and Trumpets was out-noyſed by the ſhouts of the Aſſailants, who furiouſly ren-countred. The Guns being about this time found out, were here firſt practiſed between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* in an open field. When the fight with equal order had been long maintained on both ſides, now the *Scots*, then the *Engliſh* yielding ground, many of the Commanders at length began to fall, moſt of the *Engliſh*. Then was the *Piercy* conſtrained to be at once Commander and Souldier, but ere he could be heard ſome Companies had turned their backs, among the thickeſt throngs of which breaking in, he found ſo great diſorder, that neither by Authority, Intreaty or Force he was able to ſtay their flying. Thus diſtracted between the two courſes of honour and ſhame, he is hurried far from the place of Fight: And Victory declared her ſelf altogether for the *Scots*; which was not ſo great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of ſome brave men. Of the *Scots* two hundred Gentlemen and common Souldiers were ſlain, amongſt which was *Alexander Elphinſtoun*, maintaining the Battel with his ſword, voice and wounds, and two other Knights. Of the *Engliſh* died, Sir *Henry Cliddiſdail*, Sir *John Ogle*, Sir *Richard Piercy*, with fifteen hundred Gentlemen and Common Souldiers, of which fourty were Knights, four hundred were taken Priſoners.

The King irritated by the way-laying of his Daughter, the invading of his Borders, and encouraged not a little by this little ſmile of Fortune at *Popperden*, it being more ſure to prevent then repel dangers, and with the ſame Policies to defend by which the Enemies offend, reſolveth by open wars to invade *England*. He was alſo ſtirred unto this by his intelligence from his friends in *France*, who had brought greater matters to paſs then in ſo ſhort a time could have been expected; for concealed envy and old malice, burſting out between *Richard* Duke of *York*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* being entred in friendſhip with King *Charls*, the *Engliſh* began to be daily loſers, and were put out of *Paris* and many Towns of *France*. To this effect King *James* having raiſed an Army cometh to *Roxburgh* (a Place fatal to his) and there beſiegeth

the

the Castle of *Marchmond*, which is *Roxburgh*, it was valiantly defended by Sir *Ralph Gray*: but when he was come so near the end of his labours that they within the Castle were driven to terms of Agreement and conditions for giving up the Fort, the Queen in great haste commeth to the Camp, representing to her Husband a Conspiracy, the greatness of the peril of which, if it were not speedily prevented, should endanger his Estate, Person and Race. Whether she had any inckling of the Conspiracy indeed, or contrived this to divert his Forces from the Assault, and further harm of the *English* her Friends and Countrymen, it is uncertain. The King who found his imagination wounded upon this point, after many doubtful resolutions and conflicts in his thoughts, raiseth the Siege, disbandeth the Army, and accompanied with some chosen Bands of his most assured Friends returneth back, to provide for his own safety. A strange resolution, to disband an Army for a tale of Treason, where could there be greater safety for a King then in an Army? Yet have Conspiracies been often in Camps, and in his own Time, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, brother to *Edward* Duke of *York*, *Henry* Lord *Scroope*, with Sir *Thomas Gray*, Knight, at the instigation of the *Daulphine* of *France*, for a great sum of money conspired to murther *Henry* the Fifth, King of *England*, in the midst of his Armies, if they had not been surprised. The King feared all, because he had not yet heard the names of any, but most the Army, by reason of the Nobility, many of which, who liked not the present form of Government, were irritated against Him. Were the Conspiracy a Rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in Arms to maintain their factions, and if upon suspition the King should attach any (being secretly joyned in a league) He could hardly have medled with their persons, without a Civil War, which in regard of his Engagement with *England* he endeavoured to spare; perplexed, pensive, sad, he cometh to *Perth*, stayeth in the Covent of the *Dominicans*, named the *Black-Friers* (a place not far from the Town Wall) endeavouring so secretly as was possible to finde out the Conspiracy. But his close practising was not unknown to the Conspirators, as that there was more peril to resolve then execute a Treason, a distance of time between the Plot and execution, discovering and overthrowing the enterprise: Hereupon they determine to hazard on the mischief, before tryal or remedy could be thought upon.

The Conspirators were *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, *Robert Stuart* Nephew to *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, and one of the Kings sworn Domesticks: But he who gave motion to all, was the Earl of *Athole* himself, the Kings Fathers Brother, whose quarrel was no less then a pretended title and claim to the Crown; which he formed and alledged thus. His

Brother *David*, and he were procreated by King *Robert* the second on his first wife *Eupheme Ross* daughter to the Earl of *Ross*, and therefore ought and should have been preferred to the succession of the Crown, before King *John* (named *Robert*) and all the Race of *Elizabeth Moor*, who was but his second wife, and next them but Heirs to King *Robert* the second.

They were the eldest sons of King *Robert* after he was King, *John* and *Robert* being born when he was but in a private State, and Earl of *Strathern*; for it would appear, that as a Son born after his Father hath lost his Kingdom, is not esteemed for the Son of a King, so neither he that is born before the Father be a King. These reasons he thought sufficient, the King taken away, to set him in the room of State. But considered not how sacred the name of King is to the *Scots* Nation; how a Crown once worn quite taketh away what defects soever: and that it was not easie to divest a King in present possession of a Crown, who had his right from his Father and Grandfather, with the Authority of a Parliament, approving his Descent, and secluding all other; less came it in his thought, that those children are legitimate, and lawfull which cannot be thrust back and rejected, without troubling the common Peace of the Country, and opening Gates to Forreign Invasions, Domestical disturbances, and all disorders, with an unsetled course of Succession: the Common errour making the Right or Law.

Athole animated by the Oracle of a Sooth-sayer of his Highland Countrey, who had assured him he should be crowned in a Solemn Assembly before his Death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the Crown: and being inferiour and weak in power and faction to the other Brothers, to compass his designs he betaketh himself to treacherous devices. It was not in his power to ruine so many at once; for mischief required there should be distance between so many bloody Acts, therefore he layeth his course for the taking away of his kindred one by another at leasure; he soweth jealousies, entertaineth discords; maintaineth factions amongst them; by his counsell *David* Duke of *Rothesay* the Kings eldest Brother. was famished in the Tower of *Falkland*, neither had *James* (then a child) escaped his treachery, if far off in *England* he had not been preserved: He perswaded the Earl of *Fife*, that, making out of the way the King his brother, he should put the Crown on his own head: He trafficked the return of King *James*, and he being come, he plotted the overthrow of Duke *Mordock*, by fit instrument for such a business, proving the Crimes laid against him in the Attaindor, he himself sat Judge against him and his Children. Thus stirring one of the Kinsemen against another, he so enfeebled the Race of *Elizabeth Moore*, that of a numerous off-spring there only remained *James* and

his

his Son (a childe not yet six years of Age) upon whose Sepulchers building his designs, with a small alteration of the State he thought it an easie step to the Crown.

Robert Graham had been long imprisoned, at last released; but being a man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither benefits could oblige, nor dangers make wise, an enemy to Peace, Factious and Ambitious alike, by many wicked Plots afterwards, and Crimes against the Laws of the Country, driven to an Out-lawry, and to live as banished, he had ever a male-talent against the King since the adjudging of the Earldom of *Strathern* from his Nephew Miles.

Robert Stuart was very familiar with the King, and his access to his Chamber and Person advanced the Enterprise: being a riotous young Man, gaping after great matters, neither respecting Faith nor Fame, and daring attempt any thing for the accomplishing of his own foolish hopes, and his Grandfathers ayms and ambition. These having associated unto them the most audacious, whom either fear of punishment for their misdeeds, or hopes of preferment by a change of the Government, would plunge into any enterprise, in the Moneth of *February* so secretly as was possible, assembled together, where the Earl spake to this sense unto them.

These engagements which every one of you have to another, and which I have to every one of you, founded on the strongest grounds of consanguinity, friendship, interest of committed and received wrongs, move me freely here to reveal my secret drifts, and discover the depths of my hidden purposes and counsels.

The strange Tragedies which in the State and Government have been acted, since the coming of this English *man to the Crown, are to none of you unknown:* Mordock *with his children hath been beheaded, the Earl of* Lennox *his Father in Law had that same end, the Nobility repine at the Government of their King, the* King *is in jealouste of his* Nobles, *the* Commons *are in way of Rebellion. These all have been the effects of my far-mining Policies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as fortunately, as they were ingeniously plotted. For, what more ingenious and cunning Stratagem could be projected, to decline the rank growth of these Usurpers, then to take them away by handles made of their own Timber? And if there was any wrong in such proceedings in small matters wrong must be done, that justice and equity may be performed in great. My fear was and yet is that the taking down of the Scaffold of* Mordock *should be the putting up of ours: Crowns suffer no corrivals, the world knows, and he himself is conscious to it, that the right and title of the Crown, by descent of blood from* Robert *the second my Father, was in the person of* David *my Brother, and is justly claimed now by me and our Nephew. As for an Act of Parliament confirming the right of that other Race, and for oaths of Allegiance, no Parlia-*

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mentary Authority can take away Justice, and the Law of God: neither is an oath to be observed when as it tendeth to the Suppression of truth and right; and though for a time such Acts and oaths have prevailed, our designs having good Success we shall have a Parliament approving our right, abolishing their pretensions, and declaring them Usurpers. This one man and a child taken away (if we can give the blow) the Kingdome must obey the Lawfull Successor; against whom what Subject will revolt, or who dare take arms? and here is more fear than danger. But think there were, the onely remedie of emminent dangers is new dangers. It was simplicity in him to think by small benefits that old injuries are abolished and forgot, and that I should take patiently the title of Earl, when I should have been King my self; by his tyrannizing justice, if he be not hated he is not beloved, but become terrible to his people, who now through their poverty and Grievances affect a novation, and obey him not out of any affection, but through necessity and fear, and now he also feareth that some do that to him which he hath deserved.

Let us resolve his doubts, our ends are honour and revenge, our wills against him all alike and one. The Heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought him to disband his Army, and render himself in the wished place of our attempts; and let us rather follow them and fortune, which favours great actions, than vertue that preacheth cowardly Patience; Remembring how fair glosses of valour for the most part have been cast on the fouleſt deeds, and the mightest Families have from them derived their honours, shame seldom or never following Victory, however it be atchieved and purchased. That Soveraignty at the first was but a violent usurpation of the stronger over the weaker. How great Enterprizes must begin with danger, but end with rewards, that death should rather be prevented than expected, and that it is more honourable to dy than prolong a life in misery, wandring in the scorn of other mens pride. be resolute in our Plot, put the enterprize in execution, haſt is the spirit of actions of danger, the worst that can befall us is, since we cannot subsist he being alive, that he be taken away whilst we run a hazard of death, which happeneth to all men alike, with only the difference of Fame or Oblivion with the Posterity, which ariseth of an evil action, as well of a good, if the action and attempt be great, but let us not spend the time of execution in deliberation.

Not long after when they had ponderated and digested the Design, *Graham* and *Stuart* with their accomplices guided by *Resolution*, and guarded by the darkness of the Night, came to the *Black Fryers* of *Pearth*, and having the way made open unto them entered the Gallery before the Kings Chamber-door, where they attended some of their confederates, who should have stoln away the Barr, by which means they might enter the Chamber, but before their comming Fortune casteth the occasion in their hands.

For

For *Walter Stratoun* one of the Kings Cupbearers came forth of the Chamber, and finding armed men rushing rudely to force their entrie, terrifyed with the boldness of the fact, with a high voice gave the Alarum of Treason to his Master. While they are working his death, a Maid of honour of the Name of *Dowglass* got to the door, and staied to shut it, but for that the Bar was now away which should have made it fast, she thrust her arm in the place where it should have passed, but that easily broken, the Conspiratours rush in to the Chamber, and slaying all such of the waiters as made defence (amongst which was *Patrick Dumbar* Brother to *George* sometime *Earl* of *March*) they at last stroke down the *King*; whom, whilst the *Queen* by interposing her body sought to save (being hardly pulled from him) she received two wounds, and he with twenty eight, most towards the heart, was left dead.

Thus was King *James* the first who had so superabundantly deserved well of the Common-wealth, murthered the 21. of *February* in the end of the year 1436 the 44. of his age when he had reigned 13. years. *Ann. Dom.* 1436.

This King was for the proportion and shape of his body of a middle stature, thick and square, rather somewhat mean than tall, not such as is counted for dainty, but for gracefulnesse and Majesty. His hair was abourn, a colour between white and red. He was of so strong and vigorous a constitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary extremities both of travail and want, and surpassed for agility and nimblenes in any exercise his companions. He was of so sharp and pregnant a wit that there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted or any shadow of the liberal arts did appear, that he had not applied his mind unto: seeming rather born to Letters than instructed. He wrote Verses both *Latine* and *English*, of which many yet are extant: He exercised all Instruments of Musick, and equalled the best Professours thereof. He had studied all Philosophy, but most that which concerns Government; in which what a Master he was the order which he established in such a confusion as he found in the State doth witness; and many old Laws commodiously renewed and amended, others for the publick good established. He was a great observer of religious forms; easie for access, fair in speech and countenance, in behaviour kind, using sleep and meat to live, not for voluptuousnes. He had good command over his Passions, his desires never being above his reason, nor his hopes inferiour to his desires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of Nature, yet was he more to his good education and training in *England*. Scarce had he passed the nineth year of his age when he was committed to the Sea to shun the Treasons of his Uncle, and was surprized at *Flambrough*-head in *Holderness*. *Windsor* Castle kept

kept him a Prisoner, but by Commandment of King *Henry* he was so carefully instructed that no Prince could have been better bred in the Schools of *Europe*. What his valour was, the wars of *France* bear witness: for accompanying the King of *England* there, he layed siege to the Town of *Direx*, and with such violence and valour (saith the *English* History) assaulted it for the space of six weeks, that with main strength he compelled it to be rendred to his hands, and gave it to King *Henry*. That commendation which was given him by that same King of *England*, being recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him. For the King remembring him of his benefits received, and promising him greater, with free liberty to return to his own Countrey, if he could cause the *Scots* who were adherent to the *Daulphin* of *France* to return to their native soyl and leave him; To this he answered, He was a Prisoner, had no possession of his Realm that he was neither sworn to his Subjects, nor they by any Oath of Allegiance bound to him; and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commandment, he would foresee whether it were to him honourable, and to his Realm honest, to leave their Old Friend of *France* in his extrem necessity without aid or comfort. With this answer, though the King was not content, when *James* went out of his presence, he is recorded to have said, *Happy shall they be which shall be subjects to a King endued with such wisdome of so tender years of age.* His severity in Justice was traduced by some under terms of cruelty, but considering the Disorders of his Countrey, by the fierce nature of the People over whom he ruled, who by often Rebellions did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrain him to keep them in aw, his rigour was rather an effect of necessity than of his natural disposition. No Prince did more reverently entertain Peace at Home amongst his Subjects, nor more willingly conclude the same amongst Strangers. There is no Prince more cruel than he, who by a facility and evil measured pirty, suffers Robberies, Rapes, Murthers, and all sort of oppression and abuses to overturn his Countrey, by which a whole State is interessed, when the strictest Justice toucheth but some particular persons. By him abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord was put from the Nobles, equity and industry restored to the Countrey, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own and security. Into all Men was either infused a will to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished. The mean man did respect the great, not fear him; the great man did precede the mean, not contemn him; favour was mastered by equity, Ambition by Virtue: for the excellent Prince by doing well himself had taught his subjects so to do.

He

He was one of the worthiest of all the Kings of *Scotland* till his time, of the former Kings it might have been said, The Nation made them Kings, but this King made that People a Nation. He left behinde him one Son and six Daughters, King *James* the second, *Margarite* wife to *Lewis* the eleventh, King of *France*, *Elizabeth* Dutchess of *Bretaigne*, *Jane* first of *Angus*, and then Countess of *Huntley*, *Elenora* married to *Sigismond*, Archduke of *Austria*, *Mary* wife to the Lord of *Camphire*, and *Annabella*; he was buried in the *Charter-house* of *Perth* which he had founded, where the Doublet in which he was slain was kept almost to our Time as a Relict, and with execrations seen of the People, every man thinking himself interested in his wrong.

The rumour of his Murther blazed abroad, it is incredible what weeping and sorrow was through all the Countrey, for even by them to whom his Government was not pleasant, he was deplored, and the act thought execrable. The Nobles of their own accord and motion from all parts of the Kingdome assembled and came to *Edenbrough*, and ere they consulted together (as if they had all one mind) directed troups of armed men through all the quarters of the Kingdome, to apprehend the Murtherers and produce them to Justice. Such diligence was used (grief and anger working in their minds) that within the space of fourty daies all the Conspiratours were taken, and put to shameful deaths. The common sort, as *Christopher Clawn* or *Cahown* and others, that were of the Council in the Conspiracy, having had art or part in the plot were hanged on Gibbets. The chief Actors, that the Commonwealth might publickly receive satisfaction, were made spectacles of Justice by exquisite torments, the punishment of *Athole* was continued three daies: on the first he was stript naked to his shirt, and by a Crane fixed in a Cart, often hoised aloft, disjointed, and hanging shown to the People, and thus dragged along the great Street of the Town; on the second day he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market place, he was crowned with a Diadem of burning Iron, with a Plachart bearing, *The King of all Traytors*, thus was his Oracle accomplished; on the third he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, his heart and Bowels taken out and thrown in a fire flickering before his eyes. Lastly, his head was cut off and fixed in the most eminent place of the Town, his body sent in quarters to the most populous Cities of the Kingdom to remain a Trophie of Justice.

His Nephew *Robert Stuart* was not altogether so rigorously handled, for that he did but consent to others wickedness, being only hang'd and quarter'd.

But for that it was notorious *Robert Graham* had embrued his

hands in the Kings bloud, a Gallows being raiſed in a Cart he had his right hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the Street, Executioners with burning Pincers, tearing the moſt fleſhy parts off his Carcaſs, being nip'd, torn, and flay'd, his heart and entrails were thrown in a fire, his head exalted, and his Quarters ſent amongſt the Towns, to ſatisfy the wrath and ſorrow of the injured people; being aſked during his torture how he dared put hand in his Prince, he made anſwer, that having Heaven and Hell at his choice, he dared leap out of Heaven and all the contentments thereof, in the flaming bottomes of Hell, an anſwer worthy ſuch a Traytor.

Æneas Sylvius then Legate in *Scotland* for Pope *Eugenius* the fourth (after Pope himſelf) having ſeen this ſudden and terrible Revenge, being a witneſs of the Execution, ſaid he could not tell whether he ſhould give them greater commendations that revenged the Kings death, or brand them with ſharper condemnation that diſtain'd themſelves with ſo hainous a Parricide.

The

IAMES 2: King of Scotes
Anō. 1436

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of Iames the ſecond, KING of SCOTLAND.

SCarce were the tears dryed for the loſs of the Father when the three Eſtates of the Kingdom meet, and at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, ſet the Crown upon the head of the Son, then a child in the ſixth year of his age. The Government of the Realm is truſted to Sir *Alexander Levingſtoun* of *Calendar*; the cuſtody of the Kings perſon with the Caſtle of *Edenbrough* are given to the Chancelor Sir *William Creighton*, Men for that they had been ever faithful to the Father, without apparent vices, of no capacity to ſucceed, nor entertaining aſpiring thoughts for a Diadem, held worthy of theſe charges and dignities. Good men may ſecure themſelves from Crimes but not from envy and calumnies; for men great in truſt in publick affairs are ever aſſaulted by the ambition of thoſe who apprehend they are leſs in imployment than they conceive they are in merit. 1654.

Archembald Earl of *Dowglaſs* grudging mightily that the State had beſtowed thoſe honours upon men far inferiour to him, as though

though by this the many merits of his Ancestours had been forgotten, and his own services neglected; They being ever accustomed in times of Peace to be neareſt the Helm of the State, and when any danger of war blazed, ſent abroad to encounter it. In a confuſion of thoſe thoughts being diverſly toſſed, he retireth to his own Caſtles, and after great reſolves proclaimeth that none of his Vaſſals or Tenants, eſpecially within *Annandale* and *Dowglaſs-Dale* (parts remote from the more Civill Towns of the Kingdom) ſhould acknowledg the preſent Goverment, or obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations whereunto the Governours or Chancelours hands were ſet. If any queſtion of Law or contention aroſe amongſt his Friends, Vaſſals, Tenants, He knew none fitter to be their Judge, ſentence all their wrongs, attone and take up their quarrels than himſelf. To diſcover to the world the weakneſs of the two Rulers, and how men never ſo well qualified, ſmall in means, and ſilly of power, were not for great places, he giveth way for the the increaſing of evil: overſeeing many diſorders, of which he was the ſecret cauſe, eſpecially the inſolencies of vagabounding and ravaging Borderers. Men of purpoſe ſent forth to ſpoil and rifle the more quiet parts of the Countrey, and to cut work to theſe ſtrengthleſs Stateſ-men, as he named them. Thus as overcome with ſloth and pleaſure, he paſſed ſome moneths amidſt Countrey contentments, expecting what effect time would bring forth of the equal authority of thoſe two Governours; for to fit minds equal in authority to ſo even a temper that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting, he thought impoſſible. Neither did this conjecture fail him, the event being the only judge of opinions: for after this the Governour began to jar with the Chancelour for ingroſſing wholly to himſelf from his Partner the perſon of the King, as an honour which could not altogether be ſeparate from his place, and which would give the greater authority to his proceedings; urging, the Chancelour in many other matters had uſurped and taken upon him more than the Parliament granted. The Chancelour was no better affected towards the Governour; what the Governour commanded to be done, he one way or other over-turned. The buildings of the one was by the other demoliſhed: by common and continual brawlings thus living in turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the Countrey uſurped a licentious liberty, every man doing what he thought beſt for his particular advantage and gain. The remote Villages of the Kingdom are left a prey to the lawleſs multitude: where their authority is ſcorned, turn places of robbery; where admitted, places of faction.

The Queen all this time, after her ordinary cuſtom remained in the Caſtle of *Sterling*. The diviſions, partialities, jealouſies

of

of the Rulers, she taketh in an evil part, knowing usually they had a dangerous consequence. She had ever found the Governour sincere and loyal in his proceedings; against his counsel and will her Son was kept from her by the Chancellour whom the great ones hated for possessing the King, for drawing to Offices of best trust and benefit his own creatures, displacing such he suspected to favour his partner in Rule; and the Commons loved him not, as managing every thing after his pleasure to their dammage and loss. Transported by divers motions she at last resolveth to change the Game of State, and by a womanish conceit befool masculine Policy. To effectuate her purpose she came to *Edenbrough*, and by many fair and passionate speeches obtained of the Chancelour to enter the Castle and delight her self some daies with the company of her Son. Then to countenance her plot, she giveth out a pilgrimage intended by her to the white Kirk in *Buchan*: There will she make offerings for the health of the King, and perform her other vows. The honest Statesman, who thought it disloyalty to distrust a Queen, and a Mother, whom years had made reverend; and impiety to hinder such religious intentions, giveth leave to her self with some Servants to remain in the Castle, and to transport her houshold stuff and other necessaries after what manner she pleased. In this time she perswardeth the King, wantonly set and delighting to be obsequious to *Her* his Mother, to be handsomely couched in a Trunk, as if he had been some fardel of her apparel, and convoyed by one of her trustiest Servants upon a Sumpter horse to *Leith*: from whence he was put forward by water to *Sterling*, there received by the Governor, and wel-comed with great joy and laughter, at the manner of their so quaintly deceiving the grave Man.

By this advantage the Reins of Rule were now taken by the Governour; The Queens Trick is approved, his own proceedings are strengthned and confirmed. Proclamations are made against the Chancellour, and he charged to render the Castle of *Edenbrough* to the King: which he refusing to do, by a great power raised by the Governour of the Countrey, and the Queens, and his own followers, he is besieged and blocked up within the Castle.

The Chancellour ready to fall in the danger, considering he had to do with too strong a party, imploreth the assistance of the Earl of *Dowglass*: but the Earl as a matter he had long expected and earnestly wished might fall forth, refuseth to assist any of them, saying it belonged not to the antient Nobility to succor these Mushrooms, whose ambition with no less could be satiate than the Government of the whole Realm. This disdainful answer, procured a meeting of the two Rulers, which concluded in the rendering of the Castle to the Governour, and a promise

miſe of true friendſhip between them; that they might not prove a ſport to the envious Nobility. The Governour to ſhew the roundneſs of his intentions and his honeſty, continueth the Chancellour in his office; and reſtoreth him to the keeping of the Caſtle of *Edenbrough*. After this agreement the Earl of *Dowglaſs* left this world at *Reſtalrigge* the year 1439. leaving behind him a Son born of the Earl of *Crawfords* daughter, named *William*, who ſucceeded to his Fathers Honours and Ambition.

Malcolm Flamyne of *Calmarnade*, and *Allan Lawder* upon this young Earls oath of Allegiance to the Crown of *France*, obtain to him from the *French* King the Dutchy of *Tourrain*, which his Father had enjoyed, and given to *Archembald* his Grand-Father ſlain at *Vernueil*. This forein dignity with his titles at home made the young Man very haughty, and to forget moderation, Diſcretion in youth ſeldome attending great fortunes. He ſurpaſſed far the King in his followers and Train, being accuſtomed to have hundreds of Horſe men attending him; moſt of which were Robbers and men living upon unlawful ſpoils all under his protection: But however thus he ſeemed to ſet forth his greatneſs, this ſeemed much to bewray a diſtruſt, and that he rather travelled amongſt a people which hated him, than amongſt his friends and men lovingly diſpoſed.

James Stuart Son to the Lord of *Lorne* about this time married the Queen Dowager, not ſo much out of love of her Perſon or Dowry, as of ambition, by her means intending to reach the Government of the State, and get into his cuſtody the perſon of the King. And that it might rather ſeem the work of others out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own, he ſo inſinuateth himſelf with the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, that the Earl eſſayed to lay the firſt groundwork of his aims. The Governour who never wanted his own Spies neer the Queen, at the firſt inkling of this novation committed both him and his Brother *William* to in the Caſtle of *Sterlin*. The Queen whether ſhe followed her Huſband, or was reſtrained, uncertain, ſtaied with them, and now began to repent her of the former courteſies done to the Governour; wiſhing her Son had yet remained in the cuſtody of the Chancelour, who, not ſo diſpleaſed at their impriſonment as he appeared in outward ſhow (delighting in the errours of his Partner) by *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley* trafficked and wrought their Liberty. Thus inſinuating himſelf in the Queens favour, he irritated her againſt the Governour: whom yet outwardly he entertained with ceremonies of Friendſhip, approving his Sagacity in preventing a ſtorm in the State before it brake forth Here the Governor found how that ſame Key which can open a Treaſure can ſhut it up; for after this the Queen prepared her Son for a change. The Governour carefully miniſte-

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ring Justice at *Pearth*, the Chancellour one Morning commeth to the Park of *Sterling* where the King was hunting, by the providence of his Mother more early raised for this sport, she bewailed the present estate of his Court, that he was thralled to the covetousnes and pleasure of others, living under the power of a Man greedy of Rule: that a King of *France* is declared to be of full years and Major the fourteenth of his age, that a Prince should transfer his affection especially in tender years; that by an escape he might enjoy a princely freedom, better know himself, and make his Rulers relish his Authority; that three houres was sometimes of more importance than three daies, and one hour of more than all the three; that he should take hold of the present occasion offered him. Prepared with such informations he is no sooner accosted by the Chancellour, when approving his motions he posteth towards *Edenbrough* with him: Received all the way as he went with many companies of the Chancellours friends and attendants. The Governour finding the face of the Court altered, by a King young in years and judgement, possessed by his Mother, dissimulating his interest in a patient and calm manner cometh to *Edenbrough*, there after long conference and mediation of Friends in Saint *Giles*'s Church, he meeteth the Chancellour, and by the Bishop of *Murrays* and *Aberdeens* diligence an agreement is between them concluded, which was that the King should remain in the custody of the Chancellour, and the Governour should still enjoy his charge. Amongst these divisions of the Rulers the Queen all this time handsomely kept some authority, affecting and entertaining sometimes the one of them somtimes the other, as by turns they governed the King and State.

The many and great disorders in the Countrey invited a Parliament: the authority of Magistrates was despised, no justice was administred in many places, few could keep their Goods, or be assured of their Lives, but by taking themselves to the servitude of one Faction or other. Troubles arose in the West by the slaughter of Sir *Allane Stuart* Lord *Darnley*, killed by Sir *Thomas Boyd*; and by the Revenge of his death taken by *Alexander Stuart* of *Bolmet* his Brother upon the *Boyd*; the Highland Islanders invade the Territories adjacent to them, spoyl and burn the *Lennox*, where *John Calhowen* of *Luss* is massacred. These cruelties and insolencies against all justice and authority being avouched such to be were, held fit to be remedied and courses laid down to obviate them; but *William* Earl of *Dowglass* permitting wickedness, and wincking at mischief, often approving them for lawful and good policy, whilst he neither reformed them himself by his power, nor suffered the Rulers to proceed against them by their authority; purchased to himself

ſelf the name and reputation of a lawleſs and ſtrong oppreſſor. The three Eſtates aſſembled, complaints being given up againſt Oppreſſours, moſt againſt him and his Followers, as the ſource from which the miſeries of the Country ſprang, he appeareth not, nor any to anſwer for him.

The Parliament determinateth to proceed by way of Rigour againſt him; but to this the two Rulers oppoſe, perſwading them that fair ſpeeches and entreaties, was a ſafer and eaſier way to draw unto them a young Man, mighty in riches and power, arrogant by his many Followers and Vaſſals, then to give out a Sentence againſt him before he were heard, and by threatnings ſtir his turbulent and ambitious thoughts, which inſtead of making him calm, might turn his neutrality in a perfect Rebellion: and his inſolency, in madneſs and deſpair. Neither as the preſent eſtate of the Countrey ſtood, could he without civil blood be commanded and brought in, which by moderation might be effectuate; that verity enjoyed not always that priviledge to be ſpoken in every place and time; it was good to keep up in ſilence matters concerning him, the ſpeaking of which might produce any dangerous effect. Upon this, Letters in their Name are ſent unto him, remembring him of the ſplendor and glory of his Anceſtors, the place and dignity he poſſeſſed by them in Parliament: that without his preſence they neither would nor could proceed in great matters. If he apprehended any cauſe of let or ſtay by the offences and diſorders committed by his Attendants and Followers, they would freely remit them, as accidents following the injury of the times, and his yet tender years, his greateſt fault being his giving way out of raſhneſs and negligence to the faults of others. That of himſelf they had conceived ſuch ſingular hopes of great towardneſs and all vertues, if he would come and take a part with them, giving in his complaints and grievances, he ſhould not only have full ſatisfaction, but be honoured with what place or charge in the Government he liked beſt; by honouring them with his Preſence he ſhould oblige not only his Countrey infinitely but particularly every one of them to ſtand for him to the utmoſt of their powers and wiſhes.

This Letter wrought powerfully upon the Minde of the Earl, by nature and years deſirous of glory and preferment, and believing eaſily that which was plauſible to his hopes. His friends, who now began to promiſe to themſelves new Heavens, think upon great matters, and forecaſt to themſelves by the change of their Lords Fortune, a change of Offices in the State, perſwade him likewiſe to come to the Parliament; and they divulged the certainty of his Progreſs. The Chancellour when he underſtood he was upon his way rode forth of *Edinbrough* to meet him, & by many obſequious complements and friend-

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ly blandiſhments allured and drew him to his Caſtle of *Creighton* which was in his way: where ſome days he reſted and was honorably entertained. Amongſt many healthfull admonitions by way of counſel, he told him, that the greatneſs of a Subject conſiſted in due obedience to his Prince, whom he ſhould acknowledge to be his Lord and Maſter.

That by obedience he would vindicate the Name and Families of the *Dowglaſſes*, not only from blame of Treaſon, but from all ſuſpition of Novations; that he would endeavor to execute juſtice more ſtrictly then he had done in times paſt, not protect Oppreſſors againſt Laws and Equity, but ſuppreſs all inſolencies of Theeves and Robbers, becauſe cruelties and wrongs never ſtood ſecure before either God or man. That the eſtates of ancient Houſes were often maintained more by reputation of things done, then any other foundation, which a little diſobedience to a Prince might ſhake, if not altogether ruine. That it was fatal to all Princes in their under-age, and the beginnings of their Reigns, to have troubles and ſeditions, and be tormented by ſome of their Subjects who ſtudied novelties; but when theſe Princes came to perfect years, they knew well to chaſtiſe thoſe who troubled the Government in their youth. That he would hereafter rather content himſelf with mediocrity, then expoſe himſelf as a mark to envy. That he would make a proof of his power, not in exceſs and riot or pride of his ancient honours, but in bounty and religious charity toward his Country-men.

That he wiſhed as his Houſe had long continued, it might by following what he had ſpoken unto him ever flouriſh. The Earl of a good inclination, if Flatterers and wicked Company had been removed, took in good part his advertiſements and counſel, thinking he ſpake as he thought, and (perhaps) ſo he did, for he had not yet put on his double Viſage, and promiſed to repair what offences by youth, negligence, raſhneſs or other indiſcretion had eſcaped him: thus with his Brother *David*, the Chancellor accompanied him to *Edinburgh*.

He had not long there ſtayed, when the frequent meetings, many ſecret conferences of the Governor and Chancellor at their ſeveral houſes, which often held the greateſt part of the night, who were not wont to be ſo kinde to others, bred a great jealouſie and ſuſpition in ſome of the Earls friends, that ſome lurking miſchief was a plotting to entrap him. That ſmall truſt ſhould be had in a reconciled enemy, and his many courteſies, and too exceeding favours were to be ſuſpected. Hereupon ſome freely counſel the Earl to return home, and to leave off private meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* at all, or if he ſhould, to diſmiſs his brother *David*, to keep themſelves ſcattered that they

might not be incloſed in one Net, as upon his Death-bed their Father had inſtructed and admoniſhed them. For if any violent courſe were intended againſt them, men would not dare to put in act againſt one of them, which they would againſt both. *David* preſaging ſome ſtrange accident to follow this ſudden kindneſs of the Rulers was meditating an eſcape. The Earl took this counſel in an evil part, ſaying, Great Families never wanted turbulent friends, to whom common confuſions ſerved ordinarily for ſteps to inlarge their States. when Peace ſendeth the moſt part of them home to live private men. And they cared not what blame were laid upon their Chiefs, ſo it ſtood with their own commodity; that the ptetence of his departure would be worſe then the departure it ſelf, and that he would be obnoxious to worſe ſurmiſes, and more miſerable miſtakings going away, then if he had never appeared. That he preferred the approved truſt of the Chancellor (whoſe Gueſt he had been) to all the objections of dangers they could imagine; which ſuſpitions he requeſted them to ſuppreſs; for to ſuſpect cauſleſly, inſtead of imagined wrong, returned a real injury, and being knowen would be a means to breed new jars, and break their begun Friendſhip. Thus blind-folded by Deſtinie, and accompanied with ſome of his deareſt Friends, amongſt whom was Sir *Malcolm Flamin* of *Cammernald*; in ſolemn pomp with his brother he entred *Edinburgh* Caſtle the 24. of *November*: the remainder, who were thruſt back, with ſad countenances and diſtruſting hearts, ſcattered themſelves in the Town.

The Governor, that the envy might be divided and ſhared, and all ſeem to be done by an univerſal conſent, with a ceremonious welcom, and ſuch as hate and emulation could ſuffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the King: at whoſe Table he was ſet to dine, which favors turned the heart of the young Earl ſo ſoft and relenting, that he wiſhed he had ſooner come to Court, and challeng'd himſelf of his miſtruſtful thoughts; but more his ſuſpitious friends, whoſe preſence he could have deſired to be witneſs againſt themſelves. The counſel given him at *Creighton* Caſtle, by obſequiouſneſs, he reſolveth to thank: the Kings benigne aſpect and courteſies of the Rulers had advanced him to the higheſt degree of honour.

Amidſt theſe entertainments (behold the inſtability of Fortune!) near the end of the Banquet the head of a Bull (a ſign of preſent Death in theſe times) is ſet down before him: At which ſudden Spectacle he leapt from the Table in horror and all agaſt; but this doth little avail him, he hath no power, for he is ceaſed upon by armed Men, who ruſhing out of a cruel tyring Houſe, led him to the utter Court of the Caſtle, not regarding

ing the plaints, cryes, tears of the young King, who pittifully mourned to see him manacled with cords: There with his brother *David*, Sir *Malcolm Flaming* his constant friend and compartner of all his Fortunes, he had his head and ambitious thoughts cut off. With this great blow of State the Parliament brake up, leaving grief, terrour, astonishment in the hearts of all the people, who ever hated the Actors of this Tragedie.

William Earl of *Dowglass* and *David* his brother taken away, the Baron of *Abercorn* their Uncle succeeded to the Earldom, by reason of his stature and corpulency named *James* the Gross: A man free of any Vice or heroical Vertue, whose years were not many after his Fortune to be Earl. He was Father to seven Sons, the eldest of which by a Dispensation from the Pope he married to *Beatrice*, the only Sister of his Brothers Son *William*, named *The Fair Maid of* Galloway, not so much in respect of her Beauty as her Fortunes; the Lands not tailed in *Galloway*, *Annandale*, *Balveny* and *Ormond* falling from the Heirs male to be her Portion. This Marriage was much blamed and cryed out upon by the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Dowglass* of *Dalkeith*, and other Gentlemen of that Name, not as they gave out for the propinquity of blood, being between Cozen Germans, but that so fair and easie a purchase was taken out of their arms. They had always followed the King, and procured prohibitions of the Marriage; but these with spur-haste advanced the celebration of it, and upon a *Friday*, which the common People prognosticate to be ominous, and to have some sad event.

This Earl, ambitious, factious, popular, subtile, vindicative, prompt in the execution of his enterprizes, liberal and far from the dor-muse humour of his Father, began to think neither himself nor his kindred in safety, if the deaths of his Brothers and Cousins, wrought by the two Rulers remained unrevenged, and therefore since openly without troubling the common peace of the Countrey he could not, by secret and umbragious wayes he laboureth to bring it to pass: Procuring a far off a disobedience to their Decrees, and contempt of their Authority, by men in a great distance from him in place, blood, friendship and familiarity; who after any fashion grudged, repined, complained of the present form of Government, or aggravated imaginary wrongs, are supported and protected by him, his houses turned places of refuge to distressed Male-contents. One *John Gormack* of *Athole* (not without suspition that he wrought by the motion and order of the Earl, and understood his Caball) essayed with a great number of Out-lawes to hinder the execution of a Malefactor, and take him by main force from the Sheriff of *Pearth William Ruthen*: but he perished in the enterprize. *Patrick Gilbreath* in the Castle of *Dumbartoun*, for priority of command, killeth *Robert Simple*, and to

ſave his perſon, or juſtifie his homicide, flyeth to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, by whom he is protected, notwithſtanding the many informations given in againſt him at Court, and his citation to anſwer to Juſtice.

The King whoſe non-age was now near expired, began to reliſh the Sweetneſs of Government in his own Perſon, and became tyr'd of the long and awful tutelage of his jarring Rulers; and the Flower of his youth ſeeming fram'd for great affairs, promiſed the fruit of a wiſe and happy reign; finding it difficult to put men near dayly unto him; long experienced and greedy of Rule, from high Places, except by the entertaining a ſtronger and more powerful faction: He ſetteth his thoughts upon the Earl of *Dowglaſs*; ſmall favours to him would be a great umbrage to the ambition of his Tutors, bring them within the compaſs of anſwering to what might be objected to them concerning their Service in the State; he would not ſue to the Earl, but as occaſion ſerved he gave many ſigns and open ſpeeches, that he had not altogether withdrawn his love and favour from the antient Houſe of the *Dowglaſſes*, their paſſed faults being by them acknowledged and recompenced with fidelity and obedience in times comming. The Earl of *Dowglaſs*, whoſe towardneſs and liberality had acquired him many Friends at Court, upon aſſured advertiſement of his Princes good-will towards him, cometh to *Sterling*, and is no ſooner preſented upon his knees before the King in the Church, when with all demonſtrations of benevolence he is received in grace, pardoned, and not manies dayes after admitted to be of the Privy Council. The King imparting to him his greateſt affairs, ſheweth he will follow them by his advice and counſel, honoureth him with the plauſible name of *Couſin*, and entertaineth ſuch familiarity with him that all others give him the place.

The promotion and credit which the Earl of *Dowglaſs* in a ſhort time acquired about the King, his faction dayly increaſing, moved the two Rulers (by their moderation ſeeking to avoid diſgrace) to leave the Court. After which they were both removed from their offices, and their places and authority in Council with their whole Friends and Followers. They are upbraided with diſorders, both in their private actions and the manner of their Government, and at laſt are ſummoned to anſwer before the King to ſuch things as they ſhould be legally accuſed of. The murmurs every where whiſpered amongſt the people, warned and certified them if they ſhould appear and preſent themſelves of ſome ſad and tragick act. Whereupon with proteſtations of their Innocency declining the time, appealing to the King in his majority, and when he ſhould be of full years, from theſe Judges their mortal enemies than abuſing

abſolute

absolute power, they suspend their appearing, declaring withal their readiness in every thing to obey the King.

This availeth them nothing, for at a Parlament holden in *Sterling*, articles being forged and urged against them, especially of Peculate, as sale of Crown-Lands, waste of the Kings Treasure, the laying of their hands upon the Kings jewels, transporting Lands to themselves and their friends, distributing Offices and places of the Crown and State (which should have been by the Authority of the Councel) as Hunters divide a Prey between themselves. Dispensing with Riots, and taking the force and vigour from the Laws of the Kingdom; thus as betraying the administration of the Realm into the hands of worthless and corrupted men, they are denounced Rebels, their persons and estates proscrib'd. Charge is given to Sir *John Foster* of *Corstorphane* and others the *Dowglasses* adherents, to bring all their moveables to the use of the Exchequer, demolish their houses, invade their friends with fire and sword and all that sided them. Thus the uncertain vicissitude of humane accidents overturns often them who seem to be raised to the highest degree of honour. The Castle of *Barentoren* is besieged, taken, thrown down, with other houses upon the Governours and Chancellours Lands, their Farms and small Villages are plundered and ransacked. In revenge of which the Rulers waste the Earl of *Dowglasses* Territories, the Villages of *Straw-Brock*, *Abercorn*, *Blackness* are burnt, with *Corstorphane*. The ravage begun, continueth with dayly loss to both parties, and the overthrow of the Common-wealth.

The Earl wondreth (now having the Kings Authority) to finde his enemies so strong, and hold so long out against him, He suspecteth they have secret support by some not well affected towards him. The most powerfull and eminent of which he guesseth to be *James Kennedie* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, and Cousin germane to the King. He knew him jealous for his sudden favours at Court, and that he had whispered amongst his Friends, that he feared the ambition of the Earls unlimited heart was now exalted to such exorbitancy of height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own weight, and turn up the Root.

The *Earl* will have this Prelate less powerfull to assist the Rulers, or do harm unto him. To this effect he instigateth the Earl of *Crawford* his Allie, and *Alexander Ogleby* of *Innerwharety*, to invade the Bishops Lands, and rifle his Vassals in *Fife*, without order or declaration of wrongs done by him. The Bishop after the burning and spoiling of sundry of his Farms being weak by power to resist their violence and repair his losses, took him to his Spiritual Arms, and excommunicated the Earl of *Crawford*. Though he made small account of this

this verbal Thunder, yet did not this injustice long escape the revenging hand of God, who raiseth up ordinarily one Oppressor to execute his justice against another.

Alexander Lyndesay, Son to the Earl of *Crawford*, pretended a title to the Baylerie of *Arbrothe*, out of which he was kept by *Alexander Ogleby*, whose title was equal to his, if not better. This enmity kindled to such a flame, that upon either side they assemble their friends in Arms: The *Ogleby* calleth the Lord *Huntley*, the *Lindesay* the *Hamiltons* to assist their Rights: frequent meetings having been to calm matters, and reconcile them, and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they resolve at last to decide the cause by their swords. The Earl of *Crawford* then remaining at *Dundee*, advertized of the present danger of his friends, posteth in all haste to *Arbroth*, and cometh at the very chock of the skirmish, and when they were to enter the fight. Here intending by his wisdom to take up the Quarrel, and presuming upon the respect due to his place and person, he rashly rusheth forwards before his Companies to demand a parly of *Alexander Ogleby* with his Son: But ere he could be known or was heard, he is encountred by a common Souldier, who thrust him in the mouth with a Spear, and prostrate him dead upon the ground. This sudden accident joyned the Parties, who fought with great courage and resolution: The Victory after much blood inclined to the Master of *Crawford*. *Alexander Ogleby* sore wounded, was taken and brought to the Castle of *Finelvin* where he died; the Lord *Huntley* escaped by the swiftness of his Horse. *John Forbess* of *Pitsligow*, *Alexander Barkley* of *Garteley*, *Robert Maxwell* of *Tillen*, *William Gordoun* of *Borrowfield*, Sir *John Oliphant* of *Aberdaguy* with o-
1445. thers fell on the *Oglebies* side; they fought the 24. of *January* 1445.

Now by attending opportunities to increase publick disorders, turn the times dangerous and troublesome, and confound the State; the Earl of *Dowglass* kept himself in the absolute Government; by umbragious ways he nouriſhed discontentments in all parts of the Country, amongst the Nobility, Gentry, Commons of the Realm. *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford* put to death *Iohn Lynton* of *Dundee*; *Robert Boyd* of *Duchal*, and *Alexander Lyle* slew *Iames Stuart* of *Auchenmintee*; *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hailles*, surprised the Castle of *Dumbar*; *Archembald Dumbar*, as if he would but change places with him, taketh the Castle of *Hailles*, where he was besieged by the Earl of *Dowglass*, and with conditions of safety rendred it. Sir *William Creighton* all this time kept the Castle of *Edenburgh*, and when by intreaties nor power he could not be induced to render it to the King, his Castle of *Creighton* is plundered, a garrison placed in it, and the Castle of *Edinburgh* by the *Earl* of *Dowglass* is besieged and

blocked

blocked up. Nine moneths the Assailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without loss of many Subjects cannot be taken, about the end of which time, mens courages waxing colder, conditions are offered and received; which were, that the Chancellor should be restored to grace, place, and whatsoever had been withheld from him by his enemies at Court, an abolition and abrogation of all former discontentments should be granted, the besieged should pass out bag and baggage free. At a Parliament holden at *Perth*, the Chancellor was purged by an Assise of his Peers of what was laid against him, his lands and goods seized upon by the *King* or *Dowglasses* are decreed to be restored, as well to his followers as himself; he is established in his dignities and places of honour, notwithstanding of all *Edicts*, Proclamations, Confiscations before, which were declared null; all matters past put in oblivion, as not done. This considering the credit of the *Earl* of *Dowglass*, was thought very strange; but *James Kennedie* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, whose respect and authority was great with the Churchmen, perfected this Master-piece of State; and the *Earl* of *Dowglass* knew, though the Chancellor was unbound, he had not yet escaped.

During these Garboyls in *Scotland*, *Margaret* Sister to King *James*, and wife to the *Daulphin* of *France*, *Lewis*, died at *Chalones* in *Champaigne*; a vertuous and worthy Lady, beloved of all *France*, but most of *Charles* the seventh her Father in Law, who for her respect matched her three Sisters, who remained at his Court honourably; *Helenora*, with *Sigismond* Arch-duke of *Austria*; *Elizabeth*. to the Duke of *Bretaigne*; *Mary* with the *Earl* of *Camphire*: She was buried in the great Church of *Chalones*, but after when the *Daulphine* came to be King, he caused transport and bury her in the Abbey Church of *Laon* in *Poittow*: Many Elegies were published upon her death which are yet extant. Sir *James Stuart* the Black *Knight*, husband to the Queen, at this time died also: He had turned a voluntary exile, to shun the dangers and envy of the Factions of the Country, which he incurr'd by his free speeches against the misgovernment and miseries of the time, and as he was bound towards *Flanders*, by the *Flemings* was taken upon the Seas. The Queen out-lived not long her Daughter and Husband; she was buried the fifteenth of *July* in the *Charter-house* of *Perth*, near her first husband *James*, the year 1446. She brought forth to the black Knight of *Lorn* three sons, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *James* Earl of *Buchane*, *Andrew* Bishop of *Murray*.

The Chancellor having recovered his honours and State to the disadvantage of the Earl of *Dowglass*, though of good years and tyred with the troubles of a publike life, yet findeth not any desired rest. A Marriage being designed for the King with

Mary

Mary daughter of the Duke of *Guilders*, by the instructions of *Charls* the seventh the *French* King; but secretly by the procurement of the Earl of *Dowglass*, the Chancellor, as a Man grave, great in place, and experimented with the Bishop of *Dunkel* and *Nicholas Otterburn*, is sent over the Seas in Embassie. This troublesom and unprofitable honor abroad is laid upon him, that he might be separate from the King, and suspended from opposing to the private designs of the Earl at home. This obstacle of his ambition removed (which had neither moderation nor limits) the *Earl* may exclude such Officers in State or Court who were not agreeable to him, and substitute others of his Creation after his pleasure, he hath now room and opportunity for his greatest designs. His kindred are without pausing preferred to Offices of State, his brothers to new honours; *Archembald* is made *Earl* of *Murray*, by the Marriage of a Lady of the house of *Dumbar*, who was Heir of the Lands, and the Kings Ward: *George* is created *Earl* of *Ormond*; *John* made Lord of *Balvenie*, and hath his Donation ratified in an Assembly of three Estates, who were convented at *Edinburgh* for matters concerning the Marriage of the King, but in effect that the Earl might pursue his old enemies. The Commissioners are chosen after his pleasure, are prepared and instructed by him, prelimitated; and, to combine power with craft, he entreth in an offensive and defensive League with many Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. All the wheels and vices of his Clock being right set, *Alexander Levingston*, late Governor, *Alexander* his eldest Son, *Robert Levingston* Treasurer, *David Levingston*, *James Dundas*, *Robert Bruce* of *Clackmannan* Knights, for Peculate and converting the Princes Treasure to their private use, are forfeited, taken and committed to sundry
1447 Prisons in *December* 1447. at which time they were brought to *Edinburgh*; *Alexander* the Governor, *Iames Dundas* and *Robert Bruce*, after Fines laid upon them were remitted back to *Dumbarton*, there to be kept Prisoners, during the Kings pleasure. *Alexander* the Governors Son, a young man of great expectation, with *Robert Levingston* Treasurer, and *David Levingston*, not so much by any crime proved against them, as by the Divine Justice in punishing the severity of the Governor for the execution of the *Earl* of *Dowglass* in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, had their heads cut off; the people much deploring their misfortune. By this blow the *Earl* of *Dowglass* thought he was more terribly avenged, then if he had proved his power against the old Man; having thus as it were killed him twice. Though by this strict Justice he pretended the publick weal, his end was to govern all by his absolute Authority, and make the world see what credit he had to help or harm when he pleased, admire his pompous attendance, his haughtie carrying of all business, and his power in State.

The

The Chancellor having perfected his Embaſsie, *Mary* daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guilders*, born of the Duke of *Borgundies* Siſter, a Lady young, beautifull, and of a maſculine conſtitution, arriveth in *Scotland*; and with great ſolemnity, accompanied with many Strangers and the Nobility of the Kingdom, is married to the King in the Abbey Church of *Holy-roodhouſe*; As theſe Nuptial Rites were finiſhed, the Peace between *Scotland* and *England* expired, and the Borders of both Kingdoms break, and mutually invade others. Amidſt much robbery, ſpoil and havock upon either ſide, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lieutenant and Warden upon the Weſt depopulateth the bordering Villages, and burneth the Town of *Dumfreis*; the Earl of *Northumberland* ſpoiling the eaſt, burneth the Town of *Dumbar*: *John Dowglaſs*, Lord of *Balvenny*, invadeth the *Engliſh* bounds, and burneth the Town of *Anwich*; the ravaging and depradations in a ſhort time turning equal, the two Kingdoms agree upon a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and place and day to treat about a general peace; at the laſt by an Aſſembly of the States 1449. A Truce is condeſcended unto for ſeven years. At this time *Alexander Seatoun* Lord *Gordon*, is created Earl of *Huntley*, and *George Leſlie* Baron, Earl of *Rothes*.

This Truce was not long kept by any of the Nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaiſtered up for the faſhion, they conſpire equally to break it. New incurſions are made, ſlight skirmiſhes began to wound either ſide and baniſh peace, juſt arms were conſtrained at laſt to be oppoſed to injurious oppreſsions. The *Scots* having made deſolate ſome parts of *Cumberland*, an Army under the leading of the Earl of *Northumberland* is raiſed, commanded by *Magnus* Red-beard, whom the *Scots* by reaſon of the length of his beard named *Magnus* with the red Main. A man trained from his youth in the Wars of *France*; who is ſaid to have required no more for his Service to the Crown of *England*, then what he might by his own valour conquer of *Scotland*. The *Engliſh* march from the Weſt Borders, paſs the River of *Soloway* and *Annand*, and encamp near the River of *Sark*. The Earl of *Dowglaſs* declareth his brother *George* Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant for the King againſt them: who with the power of the South and Weſt loſeth no time to encounter: the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Piercy* his Son, *Magnus Red-beard*, Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Robert Harrington* led the *Engliſh* Battalions: The Earl of *Ormond*, Lord *Maxwell*, Lairds of *Johnſton*, and *Craiggy Wallace*, the *Scottiſh*. Here occaſion and place ſerving, is it valiantly fought, the fortune of the day long doubtfull: till *Magnus*, whoſe experience and direction in War in thoſe days was deemed unparalleld, his courage here turning into temerity, was beaten from his horſe and ſlain. After his fall, many turning their backs, the Earl of *Northumberland*

thumberland himself with great danger escaped; more in the chase were lost then in the Battel; such who assayed to pass the River, by the confusion and the weight of their Arms were plunged in the water; others who could not finde the Foords, being taken, and brought to the Castle of *Lochmaben*; amongst which were Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, the Lord *Piercy*, who by saving his Father engaged himself. Few renowned amongst the *Scots* were here lost, except *Craiggy Wallace*, a principal actor, who governing himself by honour and courage, died of his wounds there received not many days thereafter. The *English* to repair their loss raised an Army, but by the daily supplies raised for *France*, and their projected Civil Wars (the Duke of *York*, Earls of *March*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury* beginning to toss the State) it was kept at home for their own use, and a truce was agreed upon and concluded with *Scotland* for the space of three years, 1450.

This Victory obtained chiefly by the valour of the *Dowglasses*, advanced highly their credit with the young King, and the Court sounded with nothing more then their praises. But great Fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily prosperity carryeth us into insolencies, without pondering the consequence of our actions. *William Colvill* Knight, upon a private quarrel having slain *James Auchinleck* a follower of the Earl of *Dowglass*, the Earl revenged his death, not only with the slaughter of *William*, but with the throwing down of his House, and spoil of all his Lands: which turned cold the affections of many about the Court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary faction to his. After, whether tyred with his working thoughts, or to shun more hatred and envy, or to try what time would produce, amidst the inward grudges and rancours of Court, or that he held his own Countrey too narrow Lists for his glory, he leaveth the Kingdom: substituting one of his Brothers Procurator for his affairs, and in his absence to govern his estate, accompanied with his Brother Mr. *Iames* (a Man learned, and brought up in Sorbon Divinity, Expectant of the Bishoprick of *Dunkel*, *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*, the Lords *Grahame*, *Seatoun*, *Oliphant*, *Saltoun*, and many Gentlemen, he arriveth in *Flanders*, cometh to *France*, passeth the *Alps*, and it being the year of *Jubilee* stayeth at *Rome*: where he was honorably received and welcomed. *Envy never leaveth great Actors*; he had not been long absent from his Prince, when many are suborned to give up complaints against the oppressions, riots, wrongs of his Kindred, Servants and Vassals. The faults of his governing the King are pryed into, every oversight and escape aggravated to the height. The *King* at first was loth to lend an ear to misreports and calumnies of a man lately so well deserving and dearly of him beloved:

loved: but overcome by importunity and urged by the numbers of Complainers, he gave way that his Brother and Procurators should make answer for wrongs suffered by the Complainers: after many citations his brother not appearing is at last by force presented to the Councel: when he could not answer to such faults as were laid against the Earls Vassals and Followers, nor acquit them of violent oppressions, he was only enjoined to restore to the Complainers their loss, and restore all damages. Upon fair promises of Restitution the King bringeth him off the danger, and obtaineth him liberty to return home.

There, after long advisement with his other Brothers and some haughty Vassals, they declare. old Rapines and Wrongs being joyned to new, and recent with which they were charged, the restitution was impossible, and like spilt water which could not be recovered. Not satisfied with this Answer, the Councel citeth the Earl of *Dowglass* upon some days to appear before them, and all his Vassals and Followers with his Brothers to answer according to Law, to such Articles as should be given in against them. The Earl was far off, and they considered it consisted not with their weal to hazard their persons to the Arbitrement of Judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their affronts. Thus for not appearing they are denounced Rebels, and Warrants granted to invade and spoil their Lands, as publick enemies to Authority and the present Government. This Decree is followed by open force; and to facilitate the execution of it, and to take up the Earl of *Dowglasses* Rents, *William* Earl of *Orkney* cometh to *Galloway*, *Dowglas-dale*, *Liddesdale*: But he found, Authority not seconded with power against lusty Rebels, to produce weak effects: for he returned disobeyed, contemned, and near spoiled and rifled by the Earls Tenants and Vassals.

The King to vindicate his Authority, since he could not prevail by reason, with competent forces in person entreth the same Territories, taketh all the strong Fortresses and Castles where he came, demolisheth the Castle of *Dowglass*, placeth a Garrison in *Lochmabane*, giveth the custody of such places he spared with the whole Goods and Moveables appertaining to them, to the Complainers and men interested in wrongs or blood, by the Rebels. The noise of this unexpected backblow being heard at *Rome*, perplexed not a little the Earl of *Dowglass*: Many of his train leave him, that where lately he represented a Prince, he seemed now scarce a private Gentleman; he was assured he lived under a Soveraign who maugre all detractions, would hear his own defences. Upon which hopes he resolveth to return, taketh him to his Journey, and for his greater haste and safe progress, he obtaineth a Passe through

England, come to the Borders of *Scotland*, his Brother *James* is directed to the Court, to understand the Kings minde towards him, and if there were any possibility in this ebb of favors to have access to him.

The King ingenuously promiseth to accept him, and performed it for all that hapned by the misdeameanor of his Friends in his absence, requesting that he would but live peaceably according to the order of the State, without hating that which his Prince loved, or improving that which he approved and authorized; and that as himself and his Brothers were ever the most able and readiest to repel the wrongs of Strangers, so they would endeavor to entertain unity and concord in the Countrey it self, and purge their Lands of Theeves and Robbers; if mischievous and wicked men were not punished, there would be no surety nor safety for the good and vertuous. Past wrongs are pardoned, the Garrisons removed from his Castles, and they are rendred unto him. Then to put him in assurance of increasing favours, he is made Lieutenant General of the Kingdom. a place great and requiring great action, being onely to be bestowed upon a Man active, great in power and friends.

The Earl of *Dowglass* again afloat in the stream of his Soveraigns favours, might have continued, if his miseries had not been decreed from above: soon after he falls in a new disgrace; whether upon a promise of return, or that he was sent for, or that he would officiously give thanks for received courtesies, when he was in his way homewards, he passeth privately to the Court of *England*, and without his Masters knowledge or leave hath many days serious conference with the Nobility of that Kingdom, then many ways distressed by the Rebellion of *Kent*, and the factions of the great Men. The pretended cause of his journey was given out to be the repairing of his own and his Vassals losses, sustained by the in-rodes of the *English* the time of his travels abroad, and the redressing of other disorders on the *West* Borders; but his Enemies suggested he intended to enter a League with some of the *English* to the disadvantage of his Master, and trouble of his Countrey, by changing the form of Government, or the Officers of State. King *James* took this meeting with the *English* in an evil part; but after great intercession and many requests of the Queen and Noblemen after he had submitted himself to his clemency, and acknowledged his errors, received him. In this mean time he is discharged of all publick imployments; his Offices of State are divided between the Earl of *Orkney* and the Lord *Creighton* his reconciled Enemies.

Removed from publick imployments he giveth himself to study private revenge, and the whole secret Council turn distasteful

diſtaſteful unto him: eſpecially *Orkney* and *Creighton*, men perfectly abhorring his ambition, and who greatly feared his diſmeaſured greatneſs.

Their ſuſpected affronts and alledged wrongs towards him were increaſed daily by tales of Sycophants. It was told the Earl that the Lord *Creightoun* in conference with the *King*, had ſaid, it were expedient for the peace of the Countrey, that the Earl of *Dowglaſs* with all his friends and followers were rooted out, and their memory aboliſhed; but if that were left undone, neither ſhould the King rule in due Majeſty, nor the Subjects ever give him that obedience which they ought. That wiſe Princes ſuffered houſes to grow as men do Spider-webs, not taking heed of them ſo long as they were ſmall, but when offenſively encreaſed, they ſwept them wholly away: Irritated by theſe and many ſuch like ſpeeches, after much contempt of the Chancellor, one dawning, as he was early coming from *Edinburgh* to his Caſtle of *Creighton*, the Earl who wanted not his own intelligence amongſt his followers (Hatred being an evil Counſellor) laid an ambuſh for him on the high way. But the clearneſs of the morning diſcovering it, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe he eſcapeth; ſome of his company being wounded, and one of the Aſſailers ſlain in the purſuit. Two days after, the Chancellor to repair his credit, accompanied with a number of his Friends and Followers, coming in great haſte to *Edinburgh*, had unawares ſurprized the Earl of *Dowglas*, then attended but with a ſmall number of his friends, if he had not ſpeedily ſhifted himſelf from the danger. This contention now burſting forth into open hoſtility, divided into Factions the whole Kingdom; The Earl of *Dowglaſs* maintaining his by the long continued grandeur of his Houſe, the Chancellor ſtanding by his Princes favour, and a long practiſe of the affairs and courſe of the World; The Earl fearing the Authority of the King might ſway the Ballance and make the party unequal, if he ſhould be brought to call to remembrance paſſed actions and attempts of his Predeceſſors, findeth nothing more expedient to curb his enemies, and ſtrengthen his proceedings, then to renew his old Confederation, and combine with him many others. Hereupon the Earls of *Crawford*, *Roſs*, *Murray*, *Ormond*, the Lord *Balvenny* Knight of *Cadyow*, many Barons, Gentlemen with their Allies, Vaſſals, Servants to a great number, ſubſcribed and ſwore ſolemnly never to deſert one another during life; That injuries done to any one of them, ſhould be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; neither ſhould they deſiſt to their beſt abilities to revenge them: That they ſhould concur indifferently againſt whatſoever Perſons within or without the Realm, and ſpend their Lives, Lands, Goods, Fortunes in defence of their Debates and

and Differences whatſoever. This confederation and Covenant again renued, turned the Earl imperious in his deportments, preſumptuous beyond all limits, and his followers and adherents inſupportable to their neighbors: The Lands of ſuch who were not of their party, or refuſed to think all their thoughts and ſecond them in their enterprizes, were plundred; and goodneſs was a cauſe to make men ſuffer moſt pillage and ranſacking of their Goods, and other miſerable calamities. At this time the Thieves and Robbers of *Liddeſ-dale* and *Annandale* break into the Lands of *John* Lord *Herreſs*, a Noble Man, who had continued conſtantly faithful to the King, and drive with them a great booty of Cattel: Complaints being given to the Earl of *Douglaſs* of the Depredations of his men, and finding no redreſs, the Lord *Herreſs* eſſayeth to drive the like prey in recompence of the damage; but being unequal in power, his fortune was to be taken by the Thieves, and brought as a Priſoner to the Earl, who layed him faſt in Irons; and notwithſtanding of the Kings Letters (full of Intreaties and Threatnings) without any formality of Law, cauſed, Hang him as a Felon: The like miſchief was practiſed in other places. After this contempt of Soveraignty, it was univerſally blazed that the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, in reſpect of this new Covenant, the power of his Kinſmen and Allies, the entertaining of ſuch who were diſcontent and diſcountenanced at Court, the love and favor of the men of Arms in *Scotland* (ever governed by ſome of his Name) his riches, the honor of his Anceſtors, had reſolved to diſſemble no longer, but openly to play his game, eſſay one day if he could ſet the Crown upon his own head, being then able to raiſe an Army of Forty thouſand warlike perſons, men ready to go with him, whither or againſt whom they cared not, attending onely the occaſion and his Commandment.

The King who before but diſdained the pride, after this League became jealous of the Earl of *Douglaſs* (a League giving a Law to a King breaking all Bonds of Soveraignty, and inviting a people to look for a new Maſter) and though his modeſty and patience ſerved onely to turn the Earl more inſolent, and his boldneſs more active, yet in a foul game he bare a fair countenance; knowing the laſt thing which a Soveraign Prince ſhould do, is to ſhow himſelf male-content and offended with any of his Subjects; for inſtead of chaſtiſing him, he would give him fairer means and greater power to do him harm: He would not ſhew a token of any prejudicial thought to the Earls proceedings, till he had firſt heared himſelf.

Thus very calmly he deſired him to come and ſpeak with him at *Sterlin*, whiles he (conſcious of his own miſdemeanor) except upon a publique aſſurance under the great Seal for his

ſafe

safe coming and return, refused to do: A safe conduct obtained, about the Shrew-Tide, in the year 1452. he came to the Court then remaining at *Sterlin* Castle, accompanied with many of his Confederates, and a powerful Retinue: The King with a gracious countenance, and all apparent respect received him, endeavoring rather by kindness and humanity, then by rigor to reclaim him to his former obedience. The day near spent, the Gates of the Castle shut, all removed, except some of the Councel and the Guards; the King taking the Earl friendly apart, remembred him of favors received, wrongs forgotten, the duties, as a Subject, he owed to his Prince, his capitulation before he would come and speak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant abuses and outrages of his followers: Then he told him what Informations he had of a Covenant of mutual defence & adherence betwixt him and some of his Nobles & Gentlemen, which he would scarce believe: He prayed him to consider the murmuring, or rather begun sedition of his people, his long patience in tolerating his proceedings, his misbelief of evil reports towards him, until he had heard what he had to say for himself and his innocency. 1452.

The Earl answered the Kings towardness in equal terms, trusting much to his confederation; for his favors he should strive with all obsequiousness to deserve them; That as he had the honor to command others who obeyed him, he knew very well how to be commanded, and obey his Prince, and in what disobedience consisted; that as none of his Subjects enjoyed more Lands and Honors then himself, there should not one be found who more willingly would engage all his Fortunes and person for the Honor of his Prince: That they who layed snares for his life, being so near his Majesty, for the surety of his person he could not come to Court, except upon a publique assurance, and well accompanied: For the wrongs committed by his Followers and Vassals, he would give what satisfaction should be required; Concerning the Band of mutual friendship betwixt him and some Noblemen, they would have adhered together without any writing; they were driven thereunto for their own safety, not out of minde to offer, but repel injuries: That he was infinitely oblig'd to his goodness, in not condemning him before he was heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous ear to his enemies mischievous devices.

The King replyed, effects and not words make the affection and submission of a subject known; and could there be any greater surety for him, then to rely on the Laws of the Commonwealth and Countrey? especially (continued he) in a Countrey where Laws, and not Faction rule, and where a mans own goodness is able to preserve him: But such men as you are

are, raise these Factions, to the subvertion of all Laws and Authority; and for Subjects to make an offensive and defensive League against all persons, is to disclaim all Government, and do what they please without controlment; commit Treason in the highest degree, and make your own Swords and Power justifie your proceedings, which, though ye first use against mean persons, and conceal the progress of your actions (for there are degrees in evil, and wicked men begin at that which seemeth the least of evils, or not an evil at all at the first) your last aim is likely to be the robbing upon the Crown: Consider (my Lord) ye are born under a Monarchy, which admitteth no Soveraignty but it self, and it is natural to Princes to hold it in highest esteem, and in no case to suffer it to be shaken by their Subjects: Take your Prince for your best protection, and an innocent life; renounce that Union and League with your Peers, which excepted, or commanded, or approved, or permitted by your Prince, subsisteth not in Law nor in Reason, being forbidden under great pains; and let it not be heard any longer, that ever such an unjust Confederation was, and so wonted clemency shall be preferred before deserved Justice; The Earl replyed, The league being drawn up by the common consent of many Lords, Barons and Gentlemen, and subscribed, it could not be cancell'd nor renounc'd but by their common consent; nor was it profitable for the King, nor to him other ways to have it done: That being together, they might condescend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But (says the King) you to shew good example to the rest, shall first begin; Neither (living) shall any Traytor in my presence disavow and disclaim my Authority, in what is within my possibility of accomplishing. The Earl requests him to remember, he came to Court upon a publique assurance: A publique assurance cannot so warrant any man, but that he may fall by his own private misdemeanor, answered the King; withal, considering a mean courage in a King to be an imputation, and that he did neither wrong towards God nor his Fame, in revenging himself upon the enemies of the State; The place, a strong Castle; his present power, all within being his Councellors and Servants; the danger if he should escape; the easiness of suppressing the Rebellion, the head taken away: (The Earl continuing hot and stubborn, in debating his points of the League, wrath banishing other Doubts and Interests) his Dagger performed, what armed Justice scarce dared attempt: The Kings blow (the noise arising) was seconded by a number of his Servants, who rushing in the Room left him dead, upon Shrewd-Eve, the 22. of *February*, 1452.

About the last Scene of this Tragedy, a pair of Spurs between two Platters (an Emblem of speedy flight) as a part of the

the Kings Banquet, is directed to Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*; This he communicateth to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Union, in which time the News of the *Earls* death is ſpread abroad: The Lieguers finding themſelves weak to carry ſo ſtrong a place as the Caſtle, in hot blood ſet on fire divers quarters of the Town of *Sterlin*, make Proclamation againſt the King and his Councel, for violating the aſſurance granted to the *Earl*: Infamous Libels are ſpread every where, and the ſafe Conduct of the King and his Councel bound to a wooden Truncheon at a Horſes tail is trailed along the ſtreets: In the Market-place, by the mouth of a Cryer, to the ſound of all their hunting-horns, they declare the King, and thoſe that abode with him, Faith-breakers, perjured perſons, enemies to all goodneſs and good men. *James* the next brother of the Houſe of *Dowglaſs* (a Church-man) being proclaimed *Earl*, in rage and madneſs, committing all ſort of Hoſtility; they overrun the Lands and Poſſeſſions of thoſe whom they ſuſpected would ſide the King, and not prove of their party: *John* Lord of *Dalkeith* their Kinſman, and of the Name of *Dowglaſs*, they beſiege in his Caſtle of *Dalkeith*, for that he hated their proceedings; the Tenants and Vaſſals of the *Earl* of *Anguſs* are plundered for the ſame cauſe: The ſtrength of the place raiſed the Siege of *Dalkeith*; and the Earl of *Anguſs*, by their many wrongs and inſolencies, remained more conſtant to the King.

In this time the King writeth to all the good Towns of the Realm, and Church-men, giving reaſons for the taking away the *Earl*, imputing the fault to the *Earl* himſelf, exhorting the people to make no ſtir for the juſt execution of a Man born for the ruine of the Kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himſelf in his own miſ-hap; offering all his power to keep the Countrey in quietneſs, according to that Authority in which God hath placed him: This blow, as particular Intereſts made the hearts of men incline, and as paſſions were various, was variouſly and in ſeveral maners taken: Some without inquiring of circumſtances, after what faſhion or occaſion ſoever done, allowing it, thought the King had more clear and evident inducements for his deed, then could fall within the Labyrinths of reaſoning. The Majeſty of a Prince, hardly falleth from an height to a midſt, but eaſily is precipitated from any midſt, to the loweſt degree and ſtation; The King (ſaid they) hath obviated this fall, hath ſet afoot again and raiſed his Authority threatned with ruine; he hath vindicated his liberty almoſt thralld, hath aſſured the Lives, Honors, Eſtates of many loyal Subjects, which were endangered by not adhearing to the league of the *Earl*, and keeping their Oath of Allegeance to the King; he (if he pleaſe) now with Honor and Reputation may hold his Parliaments, bring to

pass his designs for the conservation of his Authority, and the peace of his Subjects. Others blamed this Deed everywhere, and in every circumstance: laying perjury and murther against him, and the breaking of the publick Faith and Assurance, the common Band of humane Society, the common defence of all, and the ground of Justice.

To which it was answered, that the *Earl* was not taken away for his past demerits and misdeservings, but for what he had recently committed in the Kings own presence, having spoken to him with an insupportable irreverence; They which have safe conduct, being obliged to shun all kinde of offence towards him who gives it them, any enormity being sufficient to annull the benefit of it.

More, for the breach of Faith, the *Earl* and his confederates were the more perjured; and he the murtherer of himself: they having violated that Natural Oath to their King, which all Subjects owe to their Soveraigns, by drawing up a League among his People, to the breaking of the tyes of Soveraignty, giving by this, occasion and just cause to the King to reward them after their demerits. Most said the killing of the *Earl* was evil, but that it was a necessary evil. That as Nature suffereth not two Suns, so Reason of State suffereth not that in one Kingdom their be two Kings, but that of necessity the one must overthrow the other; and matters going thus, he who giveth the first blow hath the advantage. Thus did Men judge diversly, after their proper interests, of the Deeds of others.

The Torrent of these disorders increasing, Laws are neglected, Towns, Villages, Houses, the High-ways are everywhere afflicted with Rapine, Fire and Fury, and save needy boldness, nothing is safe and secure in any place.

The changing Multitude (like Mad-men limning Pourtraicts with their own blood) delight in their Proceedings, and daily increase the number of the Rebels. In this Insurrection the King is reduced to many extremities, and is said to have thought upon an escape by Sea to *France*, if he had not been diverted by *James Kennedie*, Bishop of *St. Andrews*, who told him, that to leave the Kingdom was to give all over to the insolency of his Rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the fire it self. That besides the high and long continued title of a King, which the best part of his Subjects yet reverenced, he had sufficient Friends and Warlike men, who appearing in a Field with him would raise a just fear in the hearts of those who so hainously dared disobey him. That God would be present to revenge wronged Majesty, and turn their hopes in despair; That the Common People were ever changing, and a little time would make them flow to these from whom they did ebb; and all would return again, except such as were guilty

ty of other offences, or such whose poverty made them fear a beggerly Peace as their greatest punishment. That his chiefest and principall City stood good for him, which example the other Towns would undoubtedly follow; that Rebellion was like Thunder, the noise of which (if observed duely) was often more terrible then the blow, and dissolved ordinarily in tears of Repentance and fair Weather: that here the prudence of a Prince manifesteth it self, when he cannot suppress and stop all the evils in his State, to suffer and tolerate the least, and with leasure and time, abolish and extirpate the greater, and make vertue of Rebellion.

The *King*, by the Bishops Counsel and Assistance, gathereth an Army, but will not try the hazard of a Battel, before those he had advertised and sent for, should joyn with these already about him, and his Forces from all the Quarters of the Kingdom be united. In the North, the *Earl* of *Huntley* had raised a goodly Company to come to his aid; but the *Earl* of *Crawford*, a Confederate of the *Earl* of *Dowglass*, with a power of the men of *Angus*, and all who would follow him, guided by some *French* Commanders essayed to cut off his passage, and rencountreth him at *Brechen*; the Battel is fought, and the victory inclined where the Kings Standard was displayed by the Earl of *Huntley*. The equity of the cause laid aside, the occasion of this Victory was ascribed to *John Colos* of *Bonnymoon*, who having one of the wings of the Army to guide, which consisted of battel-axes, great swords, and long spears, and the best invasive weapons, in the hotest of the skirmish gave ground, and left the middle Ward naked upon his side: the reason of his revolt is reported, that the night before the Battel, when every man was resolving with his affairs of the world, *Bonnymoon* requested the Earl of *Crawford*, of whom he held his Lands Ward, and relief, since the next day he was resolved either to be victorious or die in the field, to subscribe a Precept (himself falling) for entring his Son to his Lands. This the Superiour refusing, the Vassal out of a just indignation, when he should have charged, retired, and his Company with him. Such thoughts possessed not the Earl of *Huntlies* minde; he dealt not so sparingly with his friends in hope of their good service: To the *Forbesses*, *Oglebies*, *Leslies*, *Grants*, *Irwines*, he freely gave many of his own lands, which raised their courage to the height. In requital of which, the King after bestowed upon him the Lands of *Badyeenoch* and *Lochaber*. In the conflict the Earl of *Huntley* lost two Brothers; the Earl of *Crawford* and Sir *John Lindsay* his brother, being left on the Field, fled to his house of *Phanheaven*, where he was heard to say, He would be content to remain seven years in Hell, to have in so timely a season done the King his Master that Service the Earl of *Huntley* had performed,

formed, and carry that applause and thanks he was to receive from him: This conflict happened upon the Ascention day, the 18 day of *May*, 1452.

The King by the confluence and resort of many worthy Subjects unto him, having time to breathe, and finding himself in a calm, keepeth a Convention of the States at *Edenburgh*; Ere the Earls of *Douglass*, *Crawford*, *Ormond*, *Murray*, the Lord *Balvenye*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and others, are cited to answer according to Law: They instead of appearing, in the Night, upon the Doors of the principal Churches and other places eminent, fix many Placates and Libels, signed with their hands; which bear, the Earl of *Douglass* nor his Followers will never obey command nor charge in time coming, nor answer citation, for that the King is not a just Master, but a Blood-sucker, a Murtherer, a Transgressor of Hospitality, a Surpriser of the Innocent and such who deserved no harm at his hands: Not long after the King levied an Army, which by the approaching Winter did little Service; and the Earl of *Douglass*, to save the Lands of *Beatrice* his Brothers Widow, unseparated from the House, sought by a Dispensation from the Pope to have her in Marriage, alledging her untouched of his Brother; which being refused him, he kept her in place of his wife, the effect of his Sorbon Divinity, and found hereby more Bryers then Roses.

The *Earl* of *Crawford* placing two stricts of Seas betwixt him and the King, spoileth the Lands of all those who forsook him at *Brechen*; and *Archembald Earl* of *Murray*, burneth the Pile of *Srath-Boggy*, pertaining to the *Earl* of *Huntley*; In revenge of which, the *Earl* of *Huntley* burnt and herried all the Lands of the *Earl* of *Murray* beyond the *Spey*: The King too, in this madness of Man-kinde, defaceth his own Countrey, pulling down the Houses of his Rebel-Subjects, and wasting *Annan-dale*: This ravage and mutual overturning of all, having continued almost two whole years, the Faction of the *Earl*, far inferior to the Kings, now weakned with such lasting Incursions, sundry of the chief men and heads considering the least faults were the best, that it was better to strike sail in time, then make a full Shipwrack of their persons, Honors, and the well of the Kingdom and State, counsel the *Earl*, that Fervors growing colder, since it could not be undone which was done, he would not set greater work on foot, but proceeding with conveniency, submit himself friendly to the King, who had as much goodness as generosity, and sought and required nothing of his Subjects but obedience; and having now proved how difficile it was to overcome them by Arms, was (perhaps) as much tyred as they, would pardon these faults which he could not otherways amend. Necessity in Affairs of Princes,

Princes, constraining them to yield to many things in Government against their first Conclusions, and resolve to grant that which they could not well hinder: That there were many hours in the day, and the hearts of Princes were subject to change in them; that he should not forsake the publique weal of the Kingdom for his private Considerations: That after this trouble of State, he might be more esteemed and sought after by the King, as it is ordinarily practised among Princes and great men, who affect onely that which is necessary unto them.

To these the Earl answered, That they had went too far forwards to think upon any cowardly retreat and coming back again; that the onely vertue under a Tyrant, was to die constantly; that other vertues did fight, but constancy alone triumphed: That for himself, he would never trust his life to the mercy of those who under colour of friendship and banqueting, had first made away his two Kinsmen, and after his own Brother; for if they being Innocents, were thus handled, what might he expect who had been the occasion of such distraction in the State? He that once had broken his faith, except by a surety, is unable again (in Law) to contract and enter in Bond with any; Who will be surety between a King and his Subjects? That Treaties, Agreements, Covenants, Bargains of a Prince with Rebellious Subjects, engage him no farther, no longer then the Term-time or day, which pleaseth him to accept, observe and keep them, as they turn or may turn to his utility and advantage; that as in Nature there is no regress found from privation to an habit, so neither in State men once disgraced do return to their former Honors: That Princes mortally hated all Subjects who had either attempted to over-rule them by power, or had cast any terror upon them; and howsoever by constraint they bear sail for a time, in the end they were sure pay masters: That there was nothing more contrary to a good Agreement, then to appear to be too earnest and busie to seek to obtain it; he would sue for none: That all his days he had loved sincerity. constancy and fidelity, and could not unsay and recant what he had promised and practised, nor do against his heart: His friends and his own standing was by their Swords, which should either advance their enterprizes and turn them Victors, or they would die Honorably like themselves and men, and not ignobly be murthered like Beasts.

This free and dangerous resolution of the Earl, moved many who heard, to provide for their own safety, and resolve not to suffer long misery for other mens folly, finding this war was not like to have any end, and that danger and death would be the only reward of their Rebellion. Amongst others the Earl

of

of *Crawford*, after great adversity, when he could not move the Earl of *Dowglass* to submit himself to the Kings clemency, with many tears and protestations of his sincere love and counsel to him, left him; and some weeks after, as the King was in progress in *Angus*, in a sad penitential manner, accompanied with his best friends, coming in his way with much humility and sorrow, He acknowledged his fault, pleading rather for pity to his house, which had so long flourished, then to his person. The King knowing his Example would be no small occasion to weaken the power of the *Earl* of *Dowglass*, and that of all the Rebels he was the greatest object of his Clemency, was content to receive him, but he would have it done by the mediation of *James Kennedie*, Bishop of St. *Andrews*, and the Lord *Creightoun*, once his greatest Enemies, which he refused not to embrace. Thus freely remitted with those who accompanyed him, he returned to his own house of *Phanheaven*, where within few moneths he died of a burning Ague.

The three Estates, after assembled at *Edinburgh*, where *James Earl* of *Dowglass*, the Countess *Beatrix*, whom he kept by way of a pretended Marriage, *Archembald Dowglass*, *Earl* of *Murrey*, *George Earl* of *Ormond*, *John Dowglass*, Lord of *Balveny*, with others their adherents, friends and followers, are Attainted of High Treason, and their Lands and Goods are Confiscate and discerned to be seized on to the Kings use. The *Earldom* of *Murrey* is given to *James Creighton*, who had married the eldest Daughter of the *Earl* of *Murrey*; but he perceiving he could not possess it in peace, turned it back again to the King. At this time *George Creightoun* was created *Earl* of *Caithness*; *William Hay* Constable *Earl* of *Arrole*, *Darly*, *Halles*; *Boyd*, *Lyle* and *Lorn*, Lords of Parliament; the King maketh a rode into *Galloway*, reducing every strong hold and Castle of the Countrey to his Power; *Dowglass-dale* he abandoned to the spoil of the Souldier.

Matters at home turning desperate, the *Earl* of *Dowglass* being brought to that pass, that he knew not to what to wish or fear, *James Hammilton* of *Cadyow* is sent to *England* to invite the ancient enemy of the kingdom to take a part of her spoil, and help to trouble the *King*: But the *English* had greater business amongst themselves then could permit them to Wedd the Quarrels of the *Earl*. After Sir *James Hamiltoun* was returned with an excuse, and regret that some of the *English* Lords could not supply their Confusion, but only by their Counsel, he advised the *Earl* of *Dowglass* to trust to his own Power and Forces, which were sufficient, measuring their Courage, and not counting their heads, to hold good against the *King*. There was no humane affairs where men were not necessitated to run some danger, nor any busines taken in hand with such a certainty,

tainty, which by unknown causes, and even light ones, might not run a hazard of some mishap; That he should study to embrace and accept of what was most honorable and least dangerous: it was better once to try the worst then ever to be in fear of it: it was fit for him to commit something to fortune; and wisdom could counsel nothing but to shun the greatest evil. This lingring war would not only tire, but over-come and vanquish them, when one fair day of battel, either by death or victory would Crown their desires. Others advised him not to hazard upon a Battel, except upon seen and approved advantage, and to time it out a while; in this lingring war a Truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn in a Peace, in which every thing passed might be forgotten and pardoned; That Wars were managed more by occasions and times then by arms; That the King could not be now but tyred, since he had learned, that by essaying by arms to overcome them he had gained nothing but trained up his Subjects, whom he called Rebels, in all warlike Discipline, and had his Countrey spoiled and the Policy defaced. Should they once enter in blood, all hopes were gone of any conditions of peace.

At this time the King besieging the Castle of *Abercorn*, to relieve the besieged, hither marcheth with all his Forces the *Earl* of *Dowglass*; being come within view of the *Kings* Army, he observeth their march slow, the countenances of his Souldiers altered, much whispering, and their spirits in a manner dejected. Countrymen were to fight against Countreymen, friends against friends, and all against their Prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their weariedness, then want of good will to enter the Lists, as well to refresh and cherish them to be more prompt and lusty of courage the next morning, as to take counsel what course to follow, and how to dispose of their Game, he stayeth that afternoon and pitcheth his Tents. To men unfortunate every thing turneth an Enemy. Whether Sir *James Hamilton* gave way to this, or not, uncertain; but after (it is said) that in a chafe he told the Earl, he had neglected the opportunity of Fight, and should never see so fair a day again, in which he might have hazarded one Cast of a Dye for a whole Kingdom. But his Fortune was now declined, and (perhaps) would never stand upright; that by giving that night to his Souldiers to pause and deliberate on the matter, they would (perchance) take the safest way, be more advised what to enterprise the next morning, readily not fight at all, consisting of a number of bold young Gentlemen, Volunteers, who for the most part out of bravery and compassion followed him; That the Kings Army by his lingring and lying off was encouraged, finding they were to cope with men who would advise ere they fought. After which speeches he bad the

Earl

Earl farewel: And now, knowing that the way lay open both for Pardon and Favor to him that would first seek it, he in the night breaketh out with some friends, and having got over the fields betwixt the two Camps, was brought safely to the King, who graciously received, and freely pardoned him: The Army having understood the clandestin Revolt and escape of Sir *James Hamilton*, disbanded, every man slipping away by secret passages to his own habitation, that on the morrow there was nothing to be seen but the solitary field upon which they had encamped: The King out of joy of this bloodless Victory, caused Proclaim in all his chief Towns, That since Soveraign Authority had no less splendor by the actions of Clemency, then by these of Justice; all those who had followed the Earl of *Douglass*, and been of his party, rather by mis-fortune and unadvised rashness, then any evil will against him, should be freely pardoned: Those who would abandon the Earl and come to the Kings Camp, whosoever they were, no Justice, no Law should trouble them, but they should be received to mercy, and have all pardon: After this Proclamation, many submitted themselves to the King and were pardoned; though Sir *James Hamilton* was remitted, yet that under colour of reconciliation worse mischief might not be plotted, the King sent him, with the Earl of *Orkney*, to the Castle of *Rossline* during his pleasure, and the taking in of the Castle of *Abercorn*; remembring also it was some prejudice to a Prince to be obliged to any Rebel.

The *Earl* of *Douglass* gathering together the split pieces of his Ship-wrack, with his Brothers, and so many of his Confederates as would not forsake him, flieth to *England*; here with much Travel, by many promises of Rewards, great hopes of spoil, gathering unto him a power of Out-laws, Felons, Bancker-outs, and such as lived by Rapine, as well of his own Nation, as of the English, he maketh a Rode upon the West Borders of *Scotland*; some Villages being burnt, many preys, much spoil driven into *England*; at last, he meeteth with the valiant men who were appointed ro defend the *Marches*, the *Maxwells* and *Scots*; here in a furious skirmish his Companies are discomfited: *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*'s Brother is slain, and his head sent to the King; the Earl of *Ormond* is taken Prisoner; himself with the Lord *Balvenny* with great difficulty escapeth in a Forest; when he sought to return again into *England*, he findeth all Passages stopped up, the wayes layed for him, and begining to feel much want, he is constrained in a disguised habit to lurk meanly in the inmost parts of *Scotland*, till he wandred toward the far High-lands, where finding *Donald* Earl of *Ross*, Lord of the *Isles*, one of his League, a man cruel, arrogant, unpolisht, after many discourses and long conference

ference with him (being no leſs eloquent then active) he poſſeſſeth him with great hopes (after a diviſion of the Kingdom between them two) of an abſolute power and Government of of all the High-lands, beſides the wealth and treaſure which he would purchaſe by the ſpoil: He requireth onely he would break upon the more civil Countries, bring all the Fire-brands he could to kindle and trouble them, and cut work for the King, whilſt he with new ſupplies, and a great Army to be raiſed in *England*, ſhould invade the *Marches* and bordering Countries: The Earl of *Roſs*, who thought nothing impoſſible to him, being to himſelf in theſe barbarous parts by phantaſie a King, and was uſed to vaunt of a long pedegree from *Fergus*, reliſheth the profit and poſſibility of this Enterpriſe, ſweareth to leave nothing undone for the accompliſhing of it; and parting with him upon mutual aſſurance, intreateth onely celerity and ſwift performance of what they had concluded.

Scarce was the Earl of *Douglaſs* in *England*, when the *Earl* of *Roſs*, the two pillars of his Deſigns being Injuſtice and Violence, ſupported by fair hopes from the *South* with his wilde Mountainers and Iſlanders (like an inundation) over-runneth the Neighbor bounds: *Argile* ſuffereth the firſt effects of their fury; the Iſle of *Arrain* is taken, & the Caſtle made a Bon fire, as if they were the ſacrifice for the ſinns of the reſt) the Biſhop of the Iſles ſaveth himſelf by flight, and taketh Sanctuary; *Lochquabar* and *Murryland* are ſpoiled, the Town of *Innerneſs* is ſet on fire, the Caſtle ſurprized, Murthers, Raviſhings, Robberies, with what inſolency the barbarous Canibals could commit, are every where, and the ſad image of death ravageth amongſt the common people: The Earl of *Douglaſs* now at his laſt ſhifts and efforts, leaveth no ſhifts nor helps unſought out; ſuch who lived upon prey and ſpoil reſort unto him; he maketh hot incurſions, and after a moſt hoſtile maner, which purchaſed him the hatred of all his Countrey-men, and turned thoſe who were indifferent in his quarrel, his profeſſed enemies: This ravage continuing, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* (after ſlain at *Caxtoun*-field) whom love of the valor of the houſe of *Douglaſs*, and true commiſeration, had brought to take arms with him, invadeth one quarter of the *Marſh*, and the *Earl* of *Dowglaſs* turneth towards another: But whileſt they are diſperſed, and more eager and intentive to carry away ſpoil, then to look to their own ſafety and military diſcipline, the *Earl* of *Auguſs*, with Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*, put them both (with number and confuſion overborn) to flight, ſlaying many, and taking more priſoners. After this overthrow, during the Kings reign, the *Earl* of *Douglaſs* deliberating not to oppoſe longer to neceſſity, but to be ſtill till better times, never attempted

tempted to invade his Countrey.

Amidst these incursions, the Earl of *Ormond* at *Edinburgh* is beheaded: the Countess of *Dowglass*, *Beatrice* (all hopes being lost of restoring her Husband) despoiled of her Lands and fair Heritage, turned now a Monster of Fortune, the blame of her unlawful Wedlock laid upon the *Earl*, consented to by her out of a certain fear of her life, submitteth her self to the Kings Clemency. The King, who denied not mercy to any sought it of him, that the less guilty amongst the seditious might withdraw themselves, and the obstinate remain the less powerful and weak, receiveth her; and giveth her in Marriage to his Brother *John*, Earl of *Athole*, son to the Black Knight of *Lorne*, designing for her Dowry the Lordship of *Balveny*.

By her example the Countess of *Ross*, abhorring the fierceness and cruelties (as she gave out) of her barbarous Husband, but rather out of policy to be an Agent for him, flyeth to the King, and hath Revenues allowed her for the maintenance of her Estate. Not long after the *Earl* of *Ross* himself, the misadventure of his Confederates having taught him now some wisdom, having seen the *Kings* clemency towards others equal to him in Treason and Rebellion, by many humble supplications craved pardon, and begged peace. The King by his great prudence, and the course of the affairs of his Kingdom, knew that it was necessary sometimes to condiscend to the imperfections and faults of some Subjects, and having compassion, apply and accomodate himself to that which though according to the strictness of equity was not due, yet for the present occasion and reason of State was convenient, answered, he would neither altogether pardon him, nor flatly reject him, there being many signs of his wickedness, few of his changed minde; when honestly without fraud or guile, he should crave a Pardon, and give satisfaction to those whom by blood and pillage he had wronged: and by some noble action deface the remembrance of his former crimes then should it be good time to receive him. Notwithstanding this should not discourage him, but he should know he had a desire to make him relish the effects of his bounty, so he himself would finde the means and subject. In this interim he wished him to keep the common peace of the Countrey, and not oppress any of his Neighbours. About this time the University of *Glasgow* was founded by *William Turnbul* Bishop of that Sea: *William Hay* Earl of *Arole*, *George Creighton Earl* of *Caithness*; *William* Lord *Creighton*, died 1455. and the Bishop of *St. Andrews* is made Chancellor.

The King partly having loosed, partly cut in pieces that Gordian knot of the League of his Nobility, began to reobtain again the ancient Authority of the Kings his Predecessors, giving

ving and impoſing Laws to his Subjects, according to reaſon and greateſt conveniencies. Shortly progreſſing through the Quarters of the kingdom, by the ſound counſel and inſtructions of the Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, *James Kennedy* and *William Saintclare* Earl of *Orknay*, uſed ſuch clemency, that in a ſhort time he reclaimed all his turbulent ſubjects. In the year 1455. he held a Parliament, where he ratifyed what was reſolved upon to be done for the peace and weal of his People, eſtabliſhing many profitable Laws for the poſterity; after this time Ambaſſadors came from *England* and *France* unto him.

Henry the ſixt *King* of *England*, a ſoft facile Prince, and more fit to obey then command, having reſtored in blood, and allowed the deſcent of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*; the Duke under pretence and countenance of reforming the State, and removing of bad Counſellors from the Court (the umbrage of all Rebellions) by one *Jack Cade* an *Iriſh*, a bold man, and who had a Spirit which did not correſpond with his low condition, who feigned himſelf to be a Couſin of his, of the Houſe of *Mortimer*, and other his Inſtruments, raiſed a Rebellion; which began amongſt the *Kentiſh* men and was after continued by his confederacy with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Devon*, and others; and notwithſtanding he had ſworn fealty to King *Henry* at *Blackheath*, again openly took arms againſt him at St. *Albans*; where in pitched field *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*, his greateſt Competitor, and who had been preferred to his place in the Regency of *France*, was killed, the King wounded, taken and committed in the Tower of *London*. At a Parliament after, the Duke is made Protector of the kingdom: at another Parliament he maketh claim for the Crown as in his own Right, laying down thus his Title. The Son of *Anne Mortimer*, Daughter and Heir to *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philip*, the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of King *Edward* the third, and elder Brother to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, is to be preferred by very good right in Succeſſion of the Crown, before the Children of *Iohn* of *Gaunt* the fourth Son of the ſaid *Edward* the third; but *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *York*, is come of *Philip*, the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Lionel*, third Son to *King Edward* the third, then to be preferred to the Children of the fourth Son, who was *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, and ſo to *Henry* the fourth the Uſurper his Son, to *Henry* ſtiling himſelf *Henry* the fifth his Son, and *Henry* the ſixth now wrongfully calling himſelf *King* of *England*. This Parliament choſen to the Duke of *Yorks* own minde, at firſt various, at laſt unanimouſly enacted that *Henry* during his life ſhould retain the name and honour of a *King*, but that the Duke of *York* ſhould be continued Protector of the Countrey, and be declared Heir Appa-

rent, and Succeſſor of the Crown after the death of *Henry*; *Margarite* the Queen, Daughter to *Rheny King* of *Sicily*, more couragious then her Husband, diſclaimeth the Parliamentary Authority, and this Agreement of her *King* with the Duke of *York*, as a matter done to the prejudice of her Son, and againſt the Laws of Nations, which admit not a forced Contract, and done by a Priſoner.

The Crown of *England* hanging at this point, the Queen to her defence imploring the aid and aſſiſtance of her beſt, greateſt Friends and Allies, ſendeth Embaſſadors to King *Iames*. Theſe remembring the duties one King oweth to another againſt Rebels, and the Uſurpers of their Crowns, the correſpondency and amity of King *Henry* with King *James* during his proſperity, expoſtulating the cruelty of the Rebels againſt *Edmond* the late Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to *King Iames*, ſlain by them in defence of his Prince, promiſe in their *Kings* Name, Queens and their Sons, with the approbation of the Noblemen of their Party, to reſtore to the *Kings* of *Scotland*, the lands of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and Biſhoprick of *Durham*, after the manner the Kings of *Scotland* in former times had held theſe Territories of the *Kings* of *England*: ſo he would raiſe an Army, and advance to their aid and ſupply.

The Duke of *York* ſent hither alſo his Ambaſſadors, giving in many complaints againſt *King Henry*; he had oppreſſed the people with taxations, and all kinds of exactations; he had preferred to places of State and Government new men, by whoſe Counſel, and his Queen, he governed only; he deſpiſed the old Nobility, he had loſt *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*, as *France* had been loſt by him; *England* was likely to run the ſame danger. They could not longer ſuffer his dull ſluggiſhneſs, and his Wifes exorbitant pride; he was courageleſs in War, and baſe in peace. For the Duke of *York*, if Juſtice did not warrant his claim, except his Deſcent were undiſputable, and his Title without all exception, he would not deſire the poſſeſſion nor ſucceſſion of the Crown. King *James* ſhould remember, it was King *Henry* who entertained the late Diſſentions and Civil Diſcords of *Scotland*; he ſupported the baniſhed *Scots* in *England*; and after they had much enlarged their diſcourſe with reaſons of a juſt War againſt King *Henry*, if *King James* will ariſe in arms againſt him, and aſſiſt them, They promiſe to reſtore and render all the Forts and Places of importance taken in the old Wars from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to him and his Succeſſors. King *Iames* anſwered the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, that he was not ignorant of the State of their Kingdom, neither to whom their Crown did appertain, but that he would not take upon him to be umpire of their ſtrife; for the raiſing an Army, he would think upon it, though he had ſmall aſſurance for the perfor-

performance of their promiſed conditions: he had long projected the recovering of the loſt Fortreſſes of *Scotland*, in their hands, and now he would try whom he might truſt. The Embaſſadors diſmiſſed, the King raiſed an Army, but left to the Divination of the poſterity, which of the Parties he was to ſide. The *Engliſh* and *French* Writers affirm he was to aid King *Henry*, and revenge the death of the Duke of *Somerſet* his Mothers Brother, the *Scottiſh* to aſſiſt the Duke of *York*, and that by a counterfeit Legate from the Pope after he had been upon his March, he was moved to return. It ſeemeth perſwaded by the *French* King (the ancient Confederate of *Scotland*, and who for that end had ſent his Ambaſſador) to keep the *Engliſh* within their own Countrey, and diſable them in their Conqueſt of *France*, he intended upon the advantage of this Civil diſcord to make a rode in *England*, as the *French* made an Algarad by Sea upon *Kent*.

The *Kings* Army being gathered, that it ſhould not loyter in idleneſs, attending greater intelligence from the event of the *Engliſh* Factions, having paſſed the *Tweed*, invadeth the Town of *Roxburgh*, which with little travel is taken and equalled with the Ground; the Caſtle a ſtrong Fortreſs is beſieged. Whilſt the King here paſſeth the time, inviting it more by courteſies and blandiſhments, then Ammunition and Warlike Engines to be rendred to him, Commiſſioners come from the Duke of *York*, requiring him to leave his Siege, and contain himſelf within his own kingdom, unleſs he would run the hazard to engage himſelf in a War againſt the whole Body of the kingdom of *England*; they give him thanks for his forwardneſs to their ſupply; all things ſucceeding after their deſires now, and as they could have wiſhed, they requeſt him to return home; when their neceſſity required his aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he ſhould do towards him. *King James* asked the Commiſſioners, if the Duke of *York* and his Aſſociates had ſent any direction concerning the keeping of their promiſes to him, when he ſhould appear with an Army; They aſſuring him they had no ſuch Commiſſion; I (anſwered the *King*) before their Embaſſie came, had reſolved to take in and throw down this Caſtle builded upon my bounds, and being by no benefit obliged to any of your Factions, will not for words leave off what I am about by arms to perform. The Commiſſioners departing, the *King* cauſed apply his Battery againſt the Caſtle, which couragiouſly defended it ſelf, and holding good beyond expectation bred an opinion that famine would be the only Engine to make it render.

The *Kings* Army daily at this Siege increaſed, and amongſt all the Companies none were more forward and prompt to diſcharge their duties in this Service, then thoſe of the late League with

with the Earl of *Douglass*; above others the Earl of *Rosse*, to testifie his remembrance of the Kings clemency in his behalf, with a great company of his *Irish* came to the Camp, men onely fit for tumultuous fights and spoil. *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley* coming, the King with the *Earl* of *Angus* would take a view of the Trenches, and as to welcome a man, whose presence seemed to presage good Fortune, caused discharge a pale of Ordinance together; but his coming to this place was as fatal, as at *Sterlin* prosperous; For at this *Salve*, by the slices of an over-charged piece or wedge, the King, his Thigh-bone broken, was stricken immediately dead, and the *Earl* of *Angus* was sore bruised: This mis-fortune happened the third of *August*, the 29, or as others, the 30 of the Kings life, of his Raign 24. the year, 1460.

Who will take a fair view of this Prince, shall finde him to have been endowed with what conditions and qualities are to be desired or wished in a Monarch, both for minde and body, of an excellent feature and pleasant aspect, a strong vigorous complexion, given to all Knightly exercises: He is said to have had a broad red spot upon one of his cheeks, from which by his Country-men he was named *James with the fiery face*, which would make Physiognomists conceive, he was of an hot, active, violent disposition, and one who had more need of restraint then encouragement in all difficulties; yet in his actions we finde him temperate, stayed, and of a well setled humor, proceeding upon sound grounds, and after mature deliberation, being much given to follow the advice and counsel of grave men about him; He was upright, sincere, affable, courteous, loving to his Domesticks, humane towards his Enemies, gracious and benign to all men, a lover of Justice, liberal, but without oppression of his loyal Subjects, wise, in adversity industrious and diligent, politick in Affairs of State; having always raised up one Faction to relieve him from the hazard and burthen of another, and expose the Faction he most feared to the neareſt hazard: He was wisely diffident, and put on a judicial distrust, often to be governed as occasions should vary, and could dissimulate according to the fashions and changes of the time: He seemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his Favorites, and that he could ever as well transfer his fancy, as he had setled his affection; For like the Sun he would make a round, and not always shine upon one Horizon.

The death of the two Earls of *Douglass* were fatal to him; and though he was innocent of the first, the second chanced deservedly in his hand; Couragious Princes are not to be provoked by any Subject how great soever: Confederations and Leagues are fearful attempts against Soveraignty, and for the

most

moſt part end with the ruine of their Authors: The extirpation of the Earls of *Douglaſs* in the perſon of *James* (a Churchman) proceeded rather from his own ſtubbornneſs, then any male-talent the King had againſt him. In all Nations it is obſerved, That there are ſome Families fatal to the ruine of their Commonwealths, and ſome perſons fatal to the ruine of the Houſes and Race of which they are deſcended: Since in Kingdoms ſome have no compaſſion of their Prince, nor the loſs of his Honor, a Prince ſhould not much regret their loſs, nor the ruine of their perſons and Eſtates: His great clemency appeared in this, That the heads taken away of that long Rebellion, he followed no particular revenge upou their followers, not onely granting pardons, but forgetting the offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the faulty and ſick members of a State, then to aboliſh and cut them away; and more valor for a Prince to overcome his own paſſions and juſt wrath, then to vanquiſh and ſubdue his proudeſt enemies; yet was not his clemency a ſoft weakneſs, it being no leſs cruelty to forgive all then to ſpare none, but an order and diſcretion in Juſtice, temperate with ſeverity towards ſome more then towards others, according to their demerits: He was very ſenſible of the afflictions of ſuch as were diſtreſſed, as witneſs the Counteſſes of *Douglas* and *Roſs*: His life having ſet in the Orient of his Age and hopes, he deſerveth in the Records of Memory and Fame, a place amongſt the beſt but unfortunate Princes.

He had Iſſue of his Queen, *James* who ſucceeded, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Arrain* by the *Boyd*, and after Lady *Hamilton*, *Cecily*. He was buried with all Funeral-pomp, within the Monaſtery of *Holyrood-houſe* at *Edinburgh*.

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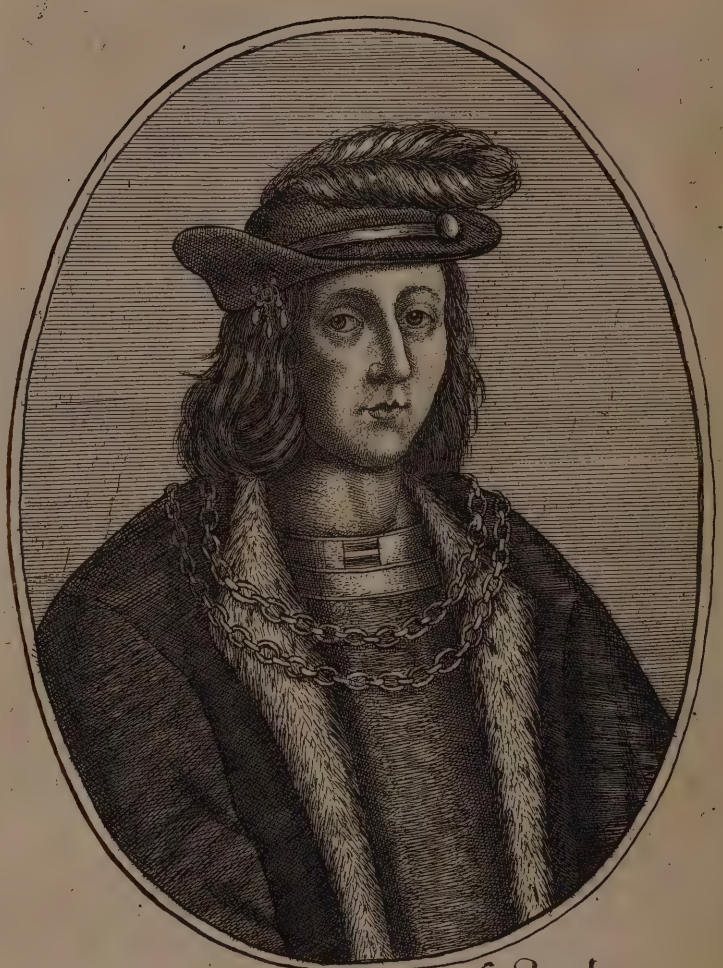

Ismes. III. kmg of Scots
Ano. 1460: R.G. fecit

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of Iames the third, KING of SCOTLAND.

THE *Queen* having tidings of the diſaſter of her Husband, full of griefs and cares with her *Son*, came to the Army at *Roxburgh*; and the publick loſs being revealed (for till then it was whiſpered) with more then a maſculine courage cauſed give new and deſperate aſſaults to the Caſtle; many Turrets being ſhaken, ſome Gates broken, parcels of walls beaten down, the Mines ready in diverſe quarters to Spring, the beſieged ignorant of the Aſſailars misfortune, and by the diſſention of their Countrey-men from all hopes of relief, treat upon a ſurrender; conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their lives and goods, the Fortreſs is given up: and ſhortly after, that it ſhould not be a Reſidence of oppreſſion in following times, is demoliſhed and equall'd with the ground.

Many of the three Eſtates being here aſſembled, the Times not ſuiting with other Solemnities, at *Kelſo* the Peers of the kingdom in a Military Pomp, ſet the Crown upon the head of

the *King*, then some seven years old, and give him their Oath of Fidelity. At their coming to *Edinburgh* the education and governance of him and the other Children is committed to the *Queen* their Mother: the Credence of what could make for Peace at home, or War abroad, is trusted to *Andrew Stuart* Lord *Annandale*, the Lord *Cassils*, Earl of *Orknay*, the Lord *Boyd* Chancellor, the Lord *Grahame*, the Bishops of St. *Andrews*, *Glasgow* and *Dunkel*; the Civil Wars increasing in *England*, the Governors of *Scotland*, under colour of preserving the bordering Countreys, sent forth some Companies, which upon occasions made Roads in *Northumberland*, and threw down all the Fortresses out of which Incursions were wont to be made upon the *Scottish* bounds, most especially the Castle of *Wark*: after which ravaging, the Winter recalled them home.

The milder parts of the Kingdom reduced to order, Some turbulent Chiefs of the Mountainers taking the occasion of the Non-age of the King, and of Rumors of Dissentions amongst the Governors, essay to trouble the Peace of their far and wilde Countreys: *Allan* Lord of *Lorn*, throweth his eldest Brother in close Prison, with intention to rob him of his Life and Estate; but he after is surprized by the Earl of *Argile*; *Donald* of the *Isles* taketh the Castle of *Innernes*; and placing there a Garrison, proclaimeth himself King of the *Isles*, compelling the neighbour Towns and simpler sort of people to pay him Taxes. At the Rumor of this insolency all wicked Out-Laws resort unto him; by whose power he invadeth the Castle of *Blair* in *Athole*, out of which the Earl the Kings Uncle with his Lady (once Countes of *Dowglas*) flie and take Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Bride*, where the Church about them set on fire, they were irreligiously taken, and transported to the Island *Ila*. Whilst the Governors were raising an Army, and advancing such forces as were in readiness against the Actors of these mischiefs, they were ascertained that as these Savages were lanching forth of that Island in their VVherries and small Vessels made of boards and wicker, by a violent tempest from Heaven, the most part of them were dashed against the rocks and drowned: and those who had escaped were strucken with Pannick fears, and deprived of their right judgments and understandings, an ordinary accident to men blinded with Superstition, and guilty of Murther and Sacriledge; amidst which distractions, the Earl of *Athole* with his Lady was safely returned to his own Castle.

MARGARET Queen of *England*, after the second overthrow and taking of her Husband at *Northampton* with the *Prince* her Son, and the new Duke of *Somerset*, having fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham* (whilst *Richard* Duke of *York* was establishing his Title and right to the Crown at *London*) raised

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in the North of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, a ſtrong Army which marched towards *York*; the Duke of *York* leaving the King in the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, though he knew himſelf inferior in power and number to his enemies, by the pride of his former Victories and over-weening of his Souldiers valor, with *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland* his yonger Son, the Earl of *Salisbury* and others, rencountreth her at *Wakefield*-Green, and here by his own raſhneſs with his Son yong *Rutland*, he is killed.

The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken, and with other Priſoners beheaded at *Pomfret* Caſtle; their heads were fixed upon Poles about the Walls of the City of *York*; that of the Dukes was mocked with a Paper Crown, and expoſed to the barbarous mirth of the beholders: The Queen encouraged by this Victory, deſiring to diſannul all Acts made lately in prejudice of her Husband, marcheth couragiouſly towards *London*; In which time *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son to the late Duke of *York*, overthrew the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Ormond*, both of the Queens Faction; at *Mortimer-Croſs*, in her way to *London*, the Queen meeting the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Norfolk* at *St. Albans* (who carryed King *Henry* her husband along with them) overthrew them, and recovered the perſon of her King: It is obſerved, that Victory always fled from where this King was preſent: The Citizens of *London*, at the approach of the Queens Army fearing Hoſtility ſhut their Gates againſt her, and armed for reſiſtance: At this time *Edward* Earl of *March* having joyned his Victorious Army with the remainder of the Earl of *Warwicks*, entred in triumph the City of *London*, and with great applauſe and acclamations of the people, was proclaimed King: Queen *Margaret* and her Faction retiring to the North, wan ſo the hearts of that people, that they gathered an Army able to ſtand for her defence, conſiſting of Threeſcore thouſand fighting men; *Edward* Earl of *March*, chooſing rather to provoke then expect his enemies, advanced towards them; the place of their meeting was between *Caxton* and *Tewton*: In this fight the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Beaumont* and *Dacres*, *Grey* and *Wells* were ſlain, and above Thirty ſix thouſand Engliſh ſtruck down; The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exceſter* flie to *York* to carry the News to the unfortunate King, leaving the Victory to *Edward* who is again ſaluted King.

King *Henry* after this overthrow, perceiving how deſperate his hopes were in his own Countrey, with his Queen, his Son, and the remainder of his diſperſed friends, ſecured himſelf by flight into *Scotland*; *James Kennedy* Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, to whoſe perſon the Authority of the State was then reduced, received him with magnificence and honor, and put him in hopes, by the aſſiſtance of *Scotland*, to reſtore his fortune:

King *Henry*, as well to reserve some Refuge and Sanctuary for himself, as to win the heart, and insinuate himself in the favor of the peopleof *Scotland*, caused render the Town of *Berwick* to them, which the *English* had violently possessed since the days of *Edw.* 1. For which favor the Scottish Nobility vowed at all times to come to his supply, and defend him to their uttermost; and that the friendship begun might continue without all vacillation, the Queens of *Scotland* and *England*, both descended of the French Race, began to treat of an Alliance, promising *Edward* Prince of *Wales* should be marryed with the Lady *Margaret*, the King of *Scotlands* Sister, none of them then having attained the years of marriage.

The miseries of King *Henry* increasing, suffered not these two Queens to stay long together; *Margaret* with her Son *Edward*, to implore the ayd of her friends, maketh a Voyage towards *France* to her Father *Rhene* King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jerusalem*, Duke of *Anjou*, a Prince large of Titles, short of Power: These who had followed King *Henry* into *Scotland*, whilest he is left onely intentive to devotion in the Cloyster of the Gray-Fryers at *Edenburgh*, return back again to sollicite their friends in *England* for a second rencounter. Upon the arrival of Queen *Margaret* in *France*, she obtaineth of her cousin *Lewis* the eleventh, that those who favored and assisted the Duke of *York*, were prohibited Traffique, and commanded to remove out of the *French* Dominions, and that Five hundred Soldiers should come to her ayd; a number so small and so unworthy the name of an Army, that it was but a competent retinue for so great a Princess: with these she came to the coast of *Scotland*, and from thence sailed to *Tinmouth*, where being repulsed by the Inhabitants, and forced again to put to Sea, she was by a furious Tempest driven to *Berwick*.

Here leaving the Prince her Son *Edward*, with the encrease and supply of some Scots, taking the King her husband with her, she advanced into the Bishoprick of *Duresm*; in her march through *Northumberland*, her Army increased to a great number: The Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, and divers of King *Henrys* well-wishers having resorted unto her; King *Edward* finding King *Henry* by the fresh air of the North to have acquired new Spirits, prepareth to oppose him, and having sent down the Lord *Mountague*, brother to the *Earl* of *Warwick*, he himself with greater Forces shortly followed: *Mountague* having through the Shires where he went, and the Bishoprick of *Duresm*, gathered a convenient Army, marched directly against King *Henry*: In the mean time *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Ross*, *Moulines*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, present themselves to hinder his further progress; They are overthrown, and King *Henry* with great difficulty escapeth to *Berwick*.

wick. At the news of this overthrow King *Edward* being in his March towards *Durham*, finding the presence of his Person, or Army needless, turned towards *York*, and gave the *Earl* of *Warwick* command to take in all the Castles and Fortresses which as yet held good for King *Henry* in the North.

Amongst the Garrisons placed in *Northumberland* by the Queen there was a Garrison of the *French* in the Castle of *Anwick*, under the Command of *Peter Bruce*, otherwise named *le Seigneur de la Varoune* Seneschal of *Normandy*, which held long good against the *English*. This *Peter Bruce* was in great account with *Charles* the seventh, father to *Lewis* the eleventh, and for this was not much liked of *Lewis*, but sent over with Queen *Margaret* to make wrack upon apparent dangers; having escaped Tempests at Sea, he took the Castles of *Bambrough* and *Dunstanbrough*, which he demolished. After he essayed to keep the Castle of *Anwick*; but the *Earl* of *Warwick*, *King Edward* lying near to *Durham*, there beleagured him: Whether this man came from the Race of the *Bruces* of *Scotland*, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar Writers in this detract him, naming him *Bryce* and a *Bretone*, or that the *Scots* would give a proof of their friendship to the Queen of *England*, and of their valour to the *French*; whilst he is everywhere beset, and near past hope of relief, the Earl of *Anguss*, then Warden of the Marshes, raised a Power of twenty three thousand horse-men, remarkable for their Valour. These about the midst of the day coming near the Castle of *Anwick*, and by their colours and arms being known a far to Captain *Bruce*, he taketh a resolution to sally out and meet them; the strongest of the *Scottish* Horsemen rceiving them, convoy them safely to their Borders; some of the Besiegers would have fought in the pursuit, but the *English* General gave him fair passage.

King *Edward* having taken all the Castles and Forts which in the North held out against him, placing Garrisons in them, returned to *London:* as King *Henry*, void both of counsel and courage, came back to *Edinburgh*. Here he had not long stayed, when tired with the tediousness of his exile, the prolonging of a wretched Life, being more grievous to him then death it self, and allured by false hopes of his Friends, he resolveth to hazard upon a return to his own Kingdom; his Crown lost, all his Favorers and wel-wishers almost slaughtered, he cometh into *England*; then disguised, and by night journeys, shifting from place to place, at last betrayed by some of his Servants, he is found out. It is recorded a Son of Sir *Edward Talbots* apprehended him as he sate at Dinner at *Wadding Town-hall*; and like a Common Malefactor, with his legs under the horse belly, guarded him up towards *London*. By the way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who led him Prisoner to the Tower. *Margaret*

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his desolate Queen with her Son, is driven once again to flie to their Father *Rhene* into *France*.

King *Edward*, his Competitors all dead or suppressed, finding a Cessation of Arms expedient, and a breathing time from War, to settle and make sure his new Government, as to other his neighbour Princes for peace, sendeth Embassadors to *Scotland*, to treat for a Truce for some years.

The Earl of *Argile*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, Abbot of *Holyrood-house*, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, Sir *William Cranstoun*, being chosen to this effect Commissioners, come to *York*, and the *English* Commissioners there attending them, a Truce for fifteen years is agreed upon, and solemnly by both Kings after confirmed.

Mary Queen of *Scotland*, daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Gilders*, and mother to King *James* (the projected Marriage of her Daughter with *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, by the miseries of King *Henry* and Queen *Margarite* her kinswoman proving desperate; her son *Alexander*, either as he went to the Low-Countries to see his Grand-father, or returned from him, being by the *English* taken upon the Seas) limited in credence of governing her children by the insolency of a proud Nobility, her Reputation branded, after a long languishing with inward discontentments, turned as it were recluse, and began to bid farewel to this world. Her melancholy growing incureable, amidst her last Trances when her Son had come to visit her, she is said to have spoken to him almost to this sense.

That Providence which brought me upon the Earth, and set a Crown on my head, doth now recal and remove me to a better Kingdom; and my happiness is not in this a little, that I leave this life without change of that estate in which I peaceably lived. Death now sheweth me as in a mirrour, the frailty of all worldly Pomp and glory, which before by the marble colours of false greatness was overshadowed and covered from me. My Griefs have been many, few my Contentments; The most eminent of which, was the hopes I conceived of you, and my other children: And now my greatest regret is, that I leave you before I could see my wishes accomplished towards you. My onely care was to have you brought up in all vertue, and goodness: But Heaven shall bestow that charge to more prudent Governors: Always take these motherly directions from me, who can leave you no better Legacy. Be earnest to observe these Commandments which are prescribed unto you by Religion, for this supporteth the Scepters of Princes: and a Religious King cannot but have obedient Subjects. What an unreasonable thing is it, that a King will have a People to acknowledge him for their Soveraign Prince upon Earth, and will not acknowledge God for his supream Lord in Heaven? A King who rebelleth against God, all subordinate Creatures will rebel against him.

him. Love my children, and laying aside the Port and Statelineſs of a King, receive them with the affection of a Brother. Endeavor to make your Subjects obey you more out of Love then Fear: or make your ſelf beloved and feared both together, ſeeing love alone of it ſelf is often cauſe of contempt, and fear alone begets hatred. Remember ye Govern not the ſoft effeminate People of the South, *but a fierce Warlike Nation of the* North, *which oftner uſe to be intreated then commanded by their Princes. Be ſparing to lay Subſidies on them, which maketh many Male-contents; and live upon your own, ſuffering others to enjoy what is theirs: Beware of Flatterers, and exalting undeſerving Perſons above your ancient Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogatives to come in Queſtion; but foreſeeing the danger, rather give way to all that with reaſon is demanded of you. Moderate your Paſſions; He ſhall never Govern a Kingdom, who cannot govern himſelf, and bring his Affections within the Circle of Reaſon. It fears me, Envy and Malice arm themſelves againſt you, which to overcome, endeavor to be Martial in your ſelf; for a Prince that is not Martial in himſelf, ſhall never be freed of Rebellion amongſt his Subjects: a ſtrong arm ſhould hold the Ballance of Juſtice: When diſſention ariſeth, be not a Loyterer and Sluggard, but with all celerity ſuppreſs it in the infancy. Rebellion is like fire in a City, which ſhould be quenched, though with the pulling down of the neighbour Houſes: Others will inſtruct you in the art of Governing, with greater curioſity and wiſdom, but not with the like love and affection. I wiſh this Counſel be ingraven in your heart and conſcience after my death, for a perpetual teſtimony of my ſincerity in your education. And if by the unjuſt counſel of others, ye be brought to practiſe ought contrary to theſe inſtructions, Remember ye cannot ſhun inevitable dangers both to your State and Perſon. But now I am warned from above to deliver this grief full Body to the reſt of a deſired Grave.*

After ſhe had thus counſelled and bleſſed her Son, not living many days, ſhe was buried with all Solemnities and Funeral-Rites at *Edinburgh* in the Colledge of the *Trinity*, which ſhe her ſelf had Founded in the year 1466.

1466.

The *King* as he increaſed in years, increaſing in ſtrength and ability for exercites either of recreation or valour, by the Regents is given to a Brother of the Lord *Boyd* to be bred in Knightly Proweſs; a man ſingular for his Education abroad and demeanor at home. The *Kennedies* were now aged, and become tyred to give ſuch aſſiduous attendance at Court as they were wont, and the times required. The Lord *Boyd* by the weakneſs of his Co-partners governed the State alone, as Sir *Alexander* his Brother did the yong *King*. To whoſe Natural inclination he did ſo comply and conform himſelf, that he had the whole truſt of his affairs, and the *King* had no thoughts but his. So ſoon as the King began to know himſelf, he turned impatient

patient of being subject to the Laws of Minority, that he himself should be restrained by that Authority which did derive from him; to loath the Superintendency and Government of others, and to affect an unseasonable Priviledge to be at his own disposal and the governing himself. Many things are done without the advice of the Governors, and occasion is sought to be disburdened of their Authority. The Lord *Boyd* and his Brother in a little time increasing in greatness, and having an intention to transfer the Power of the State and Glory of the Court to their Family, fail not to finde opportunity to free the *King* from the severity and rigour of the Governors Schooling, and to frame him an escape. Whilst the *King* remained at *Linlithgow*, the Lord *Hayls*, Lord *Sommervail*, Sir *Andrew Carre* of *Cesford*, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, agree upon a match of Hunting, and will have the *King* Umpire of the Game; Early, the morning following, the Gentlemen who were upon the Plot failed not in their Attendance. The *King* being a mile off the Town, and holding the way towards *Edinburgh*, the Lord *Kennedy*, whose quarter then was to attend, and who had leasurely followed, suspecting this Hunting to be a Game of State, the *King* continuing his Progress, laying his hands upon the Reins of his Bridle, requested him to turn again to *Linlithgow*; for that he perceived the time was not convenient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient match in absence of his best deserving followers: Sir *Alexander Boyd* impatient that the *King* should have been thus stayed, after injurious words stroke the Reverend Governour with a Hunting-staff upon the head, and took the *King* along with him to *Edinburgh*. At a frequent meeting of the States, the *Kennedies* urged to have the *King* continue under Minority, the *Boyds* to take the Government in his own Person; after long contestations, wisdom being overcome by boldness, the Authority of the better party was forced to give place, and yield to the will of the greater. Thus the Faction of the *Boyds* prevailed.

After this the *Kennedies* full of indignation, and breathing Revenge, leave the Court; cares, grief and age about this time brought *James Kennedie*, Bishop of St. *Andrews* to his Tomb, which in great magnificence he had raised in a Church builded by himself in the City of St. *Andrews*: where also he founded a Colledge of Philosophy, and indued it with many Priviledges, and sufficient Endowments to entertain Professors. By the Death of this Prelate, venerable for his Wisdom, singular for his Justice and the tranquillity following his Government, and magnificent in all his actions, the Glory of the Court and Country suffered a great Eclipse.

For, he taken away, the *Boyds* laying Foundations for their power and greatness, began to turn all to their own advantage; the

The first mark of their envy was *Patrick Graham*, the Brother of Bishop *James Kennedie* by the Mother, who was Sister to *King James* the first; after this man had been chosen Bishop of St. *Andrews*, as the Custom then was, by the Chapter appointed for that Election, he was barred from his Place, and violently repulsed by the Faction at Court: To repair which indignity he made a journey to *Rome*; where, being a Man noble by birth above others, for his Learning and many Virtues, in a little time, by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, he was re-established and confirmed in his Place.

During his abode at *Rome*, the old Question concerning the liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be exagitated. The Archbishop of *York* contested, that he was Metropolitan of *Scotland*, and that the twelve *Bishops* of that Kingdom were subject to his Jurisdiction. *Patrick Graham* remonstrated how the Archbishop of *York*, considering the usual Wars between the two Kingdoms, was often unaccessable to the Church-men of *Scotland*, especially in Causes of appellation. The *Pope*, after the hearing of both Parties, erected the See of St. *Andrews* to the dignity of an Archbishops See; and *Patrick Graham*, not only was made Primate and Metropolitan of *Scotland*, ordained to have the other Bishops under him, but for the space of three years designed Legate for the Pope, with full power to Correct and Restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline; and examine the Manners and Conversation of the Clergy: Notwithstanding these favors of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the worth and excellencies of the man himself he dared not return home to his own Country before the declining of the Fortunes of the *Boyds*.

This Family seemed now in the Zenith and Vertical point of its greatness, no imputation could be laid to the *Boyds* in the time of their Government, except that they brought the young King by their private working, without the consent and approbation of the other Regents, to *Edinburgh*, for the assuming the Government in his Minority. In approbation of their innocency, and to warrant them from this danger, the King in a Parliament declareth publickly, that the *Boyds* were not the Authors, nor Projectors of that business, but only the Assisters of him and his followers, being not formal but instrumentary causes of his coming to the Helm of the State himself: That they were so far from being obnoxious to any blame or reproach for this deed, that they deserved immortal thanks, and an honorable Guerdon in all time to come, having obeyed him in that which was most just, honest and expedient for the well of the Kingdom. Upon this Declaration of the King, the Lord *Boyd* required the present action might be registrated amongst the Acts of Parliament, and he obtained

tained what was desired, but not with that success was hoped for.

In this Parliament, the other Regents are rid of their charge, the Lord *Boyd* being made only Governor of the Kingdom, and the object of all mens respects: having the whole power and authority to minister justice of all kinds to the Subjects during the Kings non-age, and till he had fully compleat one and twenty years, the defence of the Kings Person, of his brothers, the keeping of the two Ladies his Sisters, are trusted unto him: He hath all the Towns, Castles, Fortresses, Sea-ports, Places of Importance at his Command. These proceedings of the Parliament seemed to some very strange in advancing Men already great enough, and bestowing upon them all offices of State, and adding power to such who wanted only will to do mischief, except that they knew well how to abase and pull them down again, making their fall the more sudden. *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, having the Reins of Government in his hands, and the custody of the Kings Sisters, dazelld with the golden Sun of honour, to lay more sure the foundation of his greatness, joyneth in Marriage *Thomas* his eldest *Son*, a youth of extraordinary endowments, both of minde and body, with *Margaret* the Kings eldest Sister; Not long before designed by her Mother to have been given in Marriage to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and he is created Earl of *Arran*. The Father knowing how easily the conversation of young persons breedeth a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a love and delight of others company, concluded last in mariage. This match though royal, great and rich, instead of supporting the Fortunes of the *Boyds* much weakened them turning them the objects of envy. The Nobles repined at it, and the common people (lighter than the wind and more variable than the Rain-bow) made it the subject of their foolish discourses. Now (said they) the *Boyds* aspire to the Crown; for the King with his Brothers removed, it appertaineth to them, a Kingdom being the Dowry often of a Wife of the blood Royal. The *Kennedies*, and such who disliked the present Government take the occasion of the discontentment of the Nobility, and the rumors of the people, to shake the Kings minde towards the Governor, and change the brawl of State. To this end they give way to great and universal oppressions, most of which were hatched and occasioned by themselves. By these in a short time the Commons turn licentious and dissolute, contemning all Government, every man doing what seemed best in his own eyes, and the Gentry divide in Factions: Such who wont to live upon Rapine and Theft return to their wonted Trades: honest men are spoiled of their goods; the seditious and wicked are maintained and defended against

againſt all Laws and Juſtice by their Parties. The State thus troubled, and all order confounded, by ſlie and crafty men, who at firſt pretended great friendſhip and intereſt towards the *Boyds*, the Kings affection towards them is aſſailed, and reſolutions tryed. Many times having been plauſibly liſtened unto, at laſt, pulling off their masks, they lay imputations againſt them. They remonſtrate to him what great diſparagement was between the King of *Scotlands* eldeſt Siſter and the Son of the Lord *Boyd*; that by this match he was robbed of one of the faireſt jewels of his Crown; the *Boyds* ſhould not have appropriated that to themſelves of wich they had only the keeping; ſhe ſhould have been reſerved for ſome neighbor Prince, by which Alliance the ſtate of the Kingdom, and the Perſon of the King might have been in great ſafety. For, if the *King* ſhould chance to be infeſted by ſome inſolent nobility, the name and power of a neighbor Prince were ſufficient to keep him ſafe on his Throne, which by this match was endangered. They ſuggeſted that the *Boydes* builded their eſtimation in the air of popular ap plauſe, and endeavored to endear themſelves in the opinion of the multitude. A Prince is not a Lord of that people that loveth another better then him. Should the *Boydes* be accuſed of peculate & robbing the King and the common Treaſure, the King might make a prey of their unlawful conqueſt, and by their Attaindors reward the ſervices of many of his neceſſitated friends, it being acquired moſt part by ſpoils and the taxing of the Subjects unlawfully. The height to which their riches was increaſed ſhould be feared; the faults of all the diſorders of the Commonwealth are laid upon the *Boydes*, as the Authors of every breaking out & ſedition: that they might the more ſecurely poſſeſs the places neer the King At this time complaints from all parts of the Kingdom, and by all ſorts of perſons, inceſſantly being given unto him, advance the intentions of their enemies, and the Kings minde naturally inclined to fears and ſuperſtition, being long toſſed and perplexed, began to turn away from the *Boydes*, and with their power in ſome degrees brought lower and leſſened (Preambles of Ruine) but he would go leaſurely to produce this effect and make one change bring forth another.

The *King* increaſing in yeers and youthful perturbations, is councelled for the continuiug of the Race and Succeſſion, and the keeping his Perſon without the common diſorders of the world, to think upon ſome match profitable for his country, and honorable for himſelf. He is courted by many, and courteth others; the Duke of *Burgundy* had offered him his daughter, as to other Princes his friends and neighbors, but his minde was not to have her married at all during his lifetime.

Andrew Stewart Lord *Evandale*, then Chancelour of the Kingdom, with the Bishops of *Glasgow* and *Orkenay*, being sent Embassadors to *Christern* King of *Denmark* for an accommodation, and taking up some business concerning the Isles of *Orkenay* and *Schythland* 1468. the quarrel was taken away by a marriage to be celebrated between the King and Lady *Margaret*, King *Christerns* daughter; a Lady thought worthy of his bed, in respect of the excellency of her beauty, her royal descent and greatness of her birth. All matters being agreed upon, these Isles engaged for her Dowry, there wanted onely an honorable retinue and convoy to bring home the Lady. To this negotiation, by the craft of some about the King, and vanity of others who gloryed to see their friend promoted to such great honour, *Thomas* Earle of *Arran*, as a man flourishing in fame and riches, and able to maintaine and discharge all magnificence, is deputed as the fittest person. Thus by the ambition and unattentiveness of his friends, his worth was made the Scaffold of his ruine; the lamentable condition of men of high desert. In the beginning of the Harvest, accompained with some young Noblemen and Gallants, most of which were his select friends and well-wishers, he ascendeth his ships. Whilst as the King of *Scotlands* brother in law, he is some moneths riotously entertained at the *Danish* Court, the rigor of that *Northern* climate, by the congealing of the Ocean moored up his ships, and barred all return till the following Spring. In this absence of a man so neer unto the King, his Father and Uncle, by age, sickness and their private affaires, not so frequently haunting the Court as they were accustomed: the *Kennedyes* and they of the contrary faction having shaken the Kings affection and broken these bands (his pleasures, idleness, and vacancy from the publike affairs of the State) by which the *Boydes* thought they had kept him sure, move him, now a litile delighting in action, to proceed to the consideration of such matters as might be objected against the government of the *Bodyes*. But that this might not appear to be an act of Faction, but the universal consent of the Kingdom apart, a Parliament was summoned to be holden in *November* at *Edenburgh*. Here *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, with his brother Sir *Alexander*, are summoned to answer in Judgement to such points as should be exhibited against them. At the appointed day the Lord *Boyd* appeared, but accompanyed with such multitude of the common people, and numbers of his friends, vassals, and followers all in arms, with such ostentation and boasting, that the King and Courtiers were well pleased to suffer them dissolve & scatter of their own free wills. At this insolency and malapertness (yet to our own time an usual custome in *Scotland*)

land) the King conceived such indignation, that he raised a strong guard to attend justice and his commandments, and laid secretly Forces to assist these if the *Boydes* should oppose his laws by convocation of the Lieges. The Lord *Boyd* after private intelligence of the Mines of the Court to blow him up, rather amazed then in choler at the change of his Masters mind, fled into *England*; his brother Sir *Alexander* arested by sickness, and relying upon his own integrity more then he ought to have done, considering the malice of his enemies, was brought before the Parliament; his brother and he were challenged, that upon the tenth of *July* 1466. they laid hands upon the Kings Person, and against his purpose brought him off the high way to the Castle of *Calendar*; and that by their private power and consent, contrary to the established order of the State, and the other Regents advice, they brought the King to *Edenburgh*; when Sir *Alexander* sought to produce an act of Parliament for abolition or approbation of this deed as good service, it was kept up, and he being condemned had his head cut off. Their other accusations contained the topical faults of Favourits, that they had enriched themselves out of the Kings Treasure, monopolized things belonging to the Crown, diminished the Revenues thereof, removed worthy men from the Counsel, placing such in their rooms as had dependency from them. *Thomas* Earle of *Arran* imployed in a publike charge by the kingdome, absent, unheard, is declared Rebel with his father, and his moveables escheated to the King: to his original faults was added, that he dared marry the Kings sister without consent of the States, the King being of non-age. At the noise of this thunder clap, *Robert* Lord *Boyd* left this world at *Anwick*: No sooner had the Spring rendered the *Baltick* Seas Navigable, when the *Danish* Lady with her Fleet Anchored in the *Forth*: The Earle of *Arran* who was the Paranymphe and her convoy, in that general gladness, by the perswasions of some of his friends, was preparing to come on shore, and to submit himself to the Kings clemency; but his Lady who had afar discerned his danger, coming aboard disguised, and giving him particular information of the calamity of his house, the weakness of his friends at Court, and the many snares envy and malice had laid to surprise him, he hoisted sails, and with her, who would be partaker of all his misfortunes, returned to *Denmark*; from *Denmark* by *Germany*, he came to King *Lovys* in *France*, who interposed his requests to King *James* for his regress and restoring; but the Letters in his favour producing no effects, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* making war against his Rebel Subjects, he was graciously received by him and entertained as his Ally; his Lady remained at *Antwerp*,

where she bore him two children, *James* and *Gracile*.

1469. Lady *Margaret* the 10. of *July* 1469. or after others 1470. maketh her entry into *Edenburgh*, and scarce having attained the sixteen yeer of her age, is married to King *James* in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood house*; and in the moneth of *November* following by a convention of the three Estates was Crowned Queen.

The King inexorable in the behalf of the Earle of *Arran*, and breathing his total Ruine, sendeth Letters to *Antwerp*, filled with promises and threatnings, to move his sister to return to *Scotland*. These at the first prevailed nothing with this Lady to make her forsake the husband of her youth; many letters, and from several friends and well-wishers in several fashions and stiles, coming to her, at last she was brought to believe her presence would mollifie the minde of her enemies, and work her husband a re-establishment of his former favors with the King her brother, and restore him to all his possessions and dignities: Upon which hopes she comes to *Scotland*. But these hopes proved all false; for in stead of having access to her brother, she is kept at *Kilmarnock* the chief house of the *Boydes*, as in a free prison; and her husband is summoned within threescore dayes to adhere to his wife under pain of Divorce: the unfortunate Earle for fear of his head, not appearing, his marraige is declared null; his wife is divorced from him, and is constrained by her brother to marry *James* Lord *Hamilton*, to whom also the Earledome of *Arran* was given for Dowry. Not long after her two children to Earle *Thomas*, *James* and *Gracille* are brought to *Scotland*, who in the proceeding of time proved little more fortunate then their father; for *James* was slain by *Hugh Montgomry* of *Eglinton*, and *Gracille* though first marryed to the Earle of *Cassiles*, and after to the Lord *Forbes*, was barren. Some have recorded that the Earle *Thomas*, after this violent bereaving him of his wife, dyed of displeasure at *Antwerp*, and had a Tomb raised over him with an honorable Inscription by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; others who hate the *Boydes*, tell he dyed not at *Antwerp* but at *Florence*, and that he was killed by a Merchant of *Florence* out of jealousie of having abused his wife.

Queen *Maragret* the third yeer after her marriage in the month of *March* brought forth a son who was named *James*; and *Christern* King of *Denmark* to congratulate the happy delivery of his daughter, and of expectation of a continued succession to the Crown of *Scotland* of his Race, released all the right, title, claim, which he or his successors might have to the Isles of *Orkenay* & *Scythland*. The King calleth after a Parliament at *Edenburgh*, wherein, though the Reformation of abuses,

abuſes, as wearing of ſilk and other foraign triffles, the building of Ships, and enacting Laws for the preſent time were pretended, a liberal Subſide was the greateſt aime. His Exchequer being empty, and many of his beſt friends turning neceſſitous and needy, *John* Lord of the *Iſles* was attainted for his own and his Fathers miſdemeanour, the King raiſeth forces to purſue him; the Earle of *Crawford* being made Admiral, the Earle of *Athole* the Kings Uncle Lieutenant of the Regiments by land, ſuch means in a ſhort time was uſed by the Earle of *Athole*, that the Lord of the Iſles ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings clemency, and in a convention of the States at *Edenburgh*, he reſigned all the right he had to the Earledome of Roſs, the lands of *Knap-den* and *Kintyre*, which the King annexed to the Crown.

Patrick Graham Arch-Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, having at *Rome* underſtood the fall of the *Boydes* returneth to his own countrey; where firſt amongſt his friends, and the moſt peaceable ſort of the Clergy, he divulgateth the Bull of the *Pope* for his ſupremacy over the other Churchmen of the Kingdome, and his power of their tryal and promoting to benefices, and after cauſed proclaim it at all publike places. The laudable Elections anciently uſed about the Places and Offices of Churchmen by the corruption of the times, being taken away; and that Power altogether aſſumed by the King. The Courtiers, who were accuſtomed to ſell Benefices, and the Churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the Bull, and ſet themſelves againſt him; by their traffick he is diſcharged to take the Place or Ornaments of an Archbiſhop, or carry any other Croſs or Cap then what the former Biſhops uſed to have. But here they ſet not up their reſt, *William Schevez* a man in thoſe times admired for his skil in Aſtrology, and promoted to be Arch-Dean of Saint *Andrews*, ſeconded by *John Lock* the Rector of that Univerſity, a better Grammarian then Chriſtian, excommunicates this Archbiſhop for his preſumption, and that he ſought to bear rule over his Brethren Biſhops. When this cenſure had paſſed upon him, he is degraded and ſhut up in Priſon. *William Schevez* is after promoted to his place, and conſecrated upon the Paſſion Sunday in *Lent* at *Holy-rood houſe*, the King being preſent: he likewiſe receiveth the title and faculty of Legate, and is confirmed Primate of the Realm; notwithſtanding the impediments objected to *Patrick Graham* by the Churchmen concerning that ſame dignity and preheminencie; *So various and deceitful are the wayes of Men.*

The *King* being ſlow to action, and more inclined to a ſolitary form of life, then to travel and buſineſs; his brothers being Princes of unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, to whom publike

1469. like imployments were recreations; and withall being ambitious, prodigal desirous of Rule, and to be Governors of the people themselves, and Kings in fact, how ever their elder brother was in title; they set themselves altogether to study novations, and bring the King in contempt with his subjects, and divert their minds and love towards him. To this effect they had drawn by their towardness and familiarity, many of the young Nobles and Gentlemen to follow them. The King was obnoxious to some publike scandals, for by his too great frugality, care to increase his Treasure, and study of purchasing, by taxations, sale of Church Benefices, and too exact taking up of fines, supervaluation of Wards; he had gotten the Name of covetous, and was no small distast amongst the Commons. *Edward* King of *England* that the *Scots* by the instigation of the *French*, should not trouble his new and scarce settled government, imploying all his counsels and diligence to divide them amongst themselves, wrought not a little on the unquiet spirits of these young men. The Duke of *Albany* having been taken upon the Seas by the *English*, was honorably intertained by him, and with great hopes sent home; after which time King *Edward* and he kept alwayes private intelligence together. The Duke being promoted to the keeping of the Castle of *Dunbar* and Town of *Barwick*; the King of *England*, to insinuate himself in his affection, was wont to whisper unto such who loved him, that if his brother kept not fair with *England*, he would one day set him in his Place upon his Royal Throne.

At this time the King was served by men whom his opinion of their worth and love towards him had advanced to places, and whose fortunes and estates wholly depended upon his safety, and who were less apt to do him harm. His counsel was likewise of men approved for their affection to him; and thus secluding great men from his familiarity and affairs, he gave them cause of offence. His brothers long masking their ambition under discontentment, stirr the male contents to complain against the Government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not because a people is not well governed, but because great ones would govern themselves. These upbraided the *King* with inglorious sloath, and endeavour by his dishonour to increase the credit of his Brothers. These spared not to speak evil of him every where, and what they pleased of his Ministers and Favorits; they said he neither used rule nor moderation in his proceedings, that his counsel was base, and of men of no great account, who consulted only to humor him; That a Mason swayed a Kingdome (this was *Robert Cochranne*, a man couragious and bold, first known to

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the King by his valour in a ſingle combat, and after from an Architect or Surveyor of his buildings, preferred to be of his counſel) a ſilly Wretch ſwayd the ſoul of a great King, and curbed it, as it were interdicted or charmed to his pleaſure. His contributions were the rewards of Paraſites, to whom fortune, not merit gave growth and augmentation; that honors wept over ſuch baſe men who had not deſerved them; and the ſtately frames of ancient houſes upbraided with reproaches the ſlender merits of thoſe new-up-ſtarts who enjoyed them; that he began to look downwards into every ſordid way of enriching himſelf: That his Privadoes abuſed him in every thing, but in nothing more then in making him believe, what was plotting againſt them, was againſt his Perſon and Authority; and that it was not them his brothers and the Nobility ſought to pull down but his Soveraignty.

His counſellors, ſervants, and ſuch who loved him, having long buſied their wits to ſave their Maſters reputation, and that no ſhadow of weakneſs ſhould appear to the Common people, underſtanding by whom theſe rumors were firſt ſpread abroad, and obſerving many of the Nobility and Gentry to favour the proceedings of his brothers, not daring diſcloſe themſelves to the King what their ſuſpicions made them fear would come to paſs, knowing him naturally ſuperſtitious, an admirer and believer of Divinations, ſuborn an aged woman one morning as he went a hunting to approach him, and tell, ſhe had by Divination, that he ſhould beware of his neareſt kinſemen; that from them his ruine was likely to come. This was no ſooner told when the woman was ſhifted, and ſome who were upon the Plot began to comment the Propheſie of his brothers. A Profeſſor of Phyſick, for his skill in Divination brought from *Germany*, and promoted to ſome Church-benefice, about that ſame time told the King, that in *Scotland* a Lyon ſhould be devoured by his Whelps. *William Schevez*, then Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, by way of Aſtrological predictions, put him in a fear of imminent dangers from his kindred, though truly he had his knowledg by Geomancy and good informations upon earth, by the intelligence between the Nobility and Churchmen.

Many ſuch like aſperſions being laid upon the *King*, the people cryed out that he had only for his fellow-companions Aſtrologers and Sooth-ſayers, whom as occaſion ſerved, he preferrd to Church-benefices and Biſhopricks. *Patrick Graham*, then Priſoner in *Dumferling*, a man deſolate and forgotten, as if there had not been ſuch a man in the world, taking the opportunity of the rumors of the time, ſent a Letter to the King, which contained.

That the misery of his imprisonment, was not so greivious unto him as the sad reports which he heard of his Majestyes estate; he was hardly brought to believe them, but by his long detention and imprisonment, he was assured his great enemy was in great credit with him. That he had brought the King very low in making him jealous of his brothers by giving trust to his vain Divinations; and no wonder these Arts bring forth dissentions, which have their precepts from the father of lyes and discord: to foment discord among brothers, was reproachful to Religion, and outragious to Policy; to seek to know things to come by the Stars was great ignorance, that Oracles leave a man in a wilderness of folly.

That there was no other difference betwixt Necromancy and Astrology, saving that in one, men run voluntarily to the Divel, and in the other ignorantly. Humanity attains not to the secrets above, and if it did, it is not wise enough to divert the wisdom of heaven, which is not to be resisted, but submitted unto; that never any had recourse to these Arts, but they had fatal ends; that Almighty providence permitting that to befal them out of his justice of necessity, which before the Oracle was sought, was scarce contingent; that he should rest upon the Almightyes Providence, and then all things would succeed well with him, whose favors would wast him out of the surges of uncertainties.

After this free opening of his minde, *Patrick Graham* was removed out of *Dumferling* to the Castle of *Lock-leven* (a place renowned long after by the imprisonment of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*) where in a short time he left the miseryes of this world.

The people now throughly deceived and incensed against their King, the most audacious of the Nobility had brought his brothers on the way of taking the Government to themselves, their power being able to perform what their ambition projected; and the murmuring of the people seeming to applaud any Insurrections. The Earle of *Marr*, young and rash, purblind in foreseeing the events of things, is stirred up to begin the Tragedy; some of the Nobility of his faction being present, with more liberty then wisdom, he broke out in meanacing and undecent speeches, as that his brother did wrong to his Majesty in keeping neer him, and being so familiar with such contemptible fellows, as these of his Bedchamber and Officers; withal, railing against the Goverment of the State and Court. The *King* passionately resenting his words, caused remove him from his presence, and he persevering in his railing, was committed to the Castle of *Craigmillar*, where surmising that he was in a Prison, his anger turned into a rage, his rage kindled a Feaver, and his Feaver advanced to a Phrensie: This sickness increasing, that he might be more neer to the Court and his friends, in the night

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he is transported to the Cannons Gate in *Edenburgh*: the *King* compassionate of his disease, sendeth his Physitians to attend him; they, to restore his understanding which was molested, open some veins of his head and armes, in which time whether by his own disorder and misgovernment in his sickness, the bands being loosed which tyed the lancing, or that they took too great a quantity of blood from him, he fainted, and after sowning, dyed unawares amongst the hands of his best friends and servants. These who hated the King, gave out that he was taken away by his command, and some writers have recorded the same; but no such faith should be given unto them, as to *B.W.E.* who was living in that time, and whose records we have followed, who for his place could not but know, aud for his profession would not but deliver the very truth; certain Witches and Sorcerers being taken & examined and convicted of Sorcery at this time, and being suborned, they confessed that the Earle of *Marre* had dealt with them in prejudice of the *King*, and to have him taken away by incantation. For the Kings Image being framed in wax, and with many spels and incantations baptized, and set unto a fire, they perswaded themselves the Kings Person should fall away as that Image consumed by the fire, and by the death of the King, the brothers should reach the Government of the State; with such vanities was the common people amused.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* imputing the death of his brother to the favourits of the King, and avouching them to have been the occasioners of his distraction, stirred the Nobility and People to revenge so foul a deed; but whilst he keeps private meetings with them of his Faction in the Night to facilitate their enterprise, betrayed by some of his followers, he is surprised, and imprisoned in the Castle of *Edenburgh*. Out of which about the appointed time of his tryal, by the killing of his keeper he escaped, and in a Ship which to that effects was hired, sailing to the Castle of *Dumbar*, of which he had the keeping, he passed to *France*. After the escape of the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellor of the Kingdome, raising the power of the neareſt Shires, beleaguered the Castle of *Dumbar*: the besieged unprovided of victuals, as men expecting no such alterations, betake themselves in small Boates to the Sea, and came safe towards the Coasts of *England*. The Castle having none to defend it, is taken; some Gentlemen in persuit of the flying souldiers, by their own rashness perished.

The Kings of *Scotland* and *England* tossed along with civil troubles, and affecting peace with all their neighbors, by an equal and mutual consent of thoughts send at one time Ambassadors to one another, who first conclude a peace between the two Nations; and that the Posterity might be partakers

of this accord, contract afterwards an Alliance between the two Kings. It was agreed that the Princess *Cicilia* youngest daughter to King *Edward*, should marry with *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, when they came to yeers of discretion. A motion heard with great acceptance; but it was thought by some familiar with King *Edward* and in his most inward Counsels, that really he never intended this mariage, and that this negotiation aimed onely to temporize with *Scotland*, in case that *Lovys* of *France* should stir up an invasion of *England* by the King of *Scotland*. King *Louys* at this time had sent one Doctor *Ireland* a *Sorboniſt* to move King *James* to trouble the Kingdome of *England*, and to give over the projected marriage; which when King *Edward* understood, knowing what a distance was between things promised and performed, to oblige King *James*, and ty him more strongly to the bargain, that this marriage might have more sway, he caused for the present maintenance of the Prince, and as it were a part of the Dowry of Lady *Cicilia*, deliver certain sums of money to King *James*. Notwithstanding of which benevolence the the witty *Louys* wrought so with the *Scottish* Nobility, that King *James* sent Ambassadors to the King of *England*, entreating him not to assist the Duke of *Burgundy* his brother in Law against King *Louys*, which if he refused to do, the Nobility of *Scotland* who were now turned insolent, would constrain him by reason of the ancient league between the *French* and the *Scots* to assist the *French*.

The Duke of *Albany* during his aboad in *France*, had marryed a daughter of the Earle of *Bullogine* (she was his second wife, his first having been a daughter of the Earle of *Orkenay*, a Lady of great parentage, and many friends) who incessantly importuned King *Louys* to aide the Duke for the recovery of his inheritance and places in the State of *Scotland*, out of which he was kept by the evil Counsellors of his brother. *Louys* minding to make good use of his brother, and underhand increasing discords and jealousies between him and the King of *England*, slighting his suites told him, he could not justifie his taking of Armes to settle a Subject in his inheritance; That Princes ought to be wrought upon by perswasion, not violence, and he should not trouble a King otherwayes then by Prayers and Petitions, which he would be earnest to perform. Upon this refusal the Duke of *Albany* (having burryed his Durchesse) troubled with new thoughts came to *England*. King *Edward* with accustomated courtesies receiving him, giveth him hopes of assistance, entring of in communication with him how to divert the Kingdome of *Scotland* from the invasion of his Dominions at the desire of the *French*, the Agents and traffickers of *Louys* lying still in *Scotland*,

land, and daily bribing and ſoliciting the *Scots* Nobility to neceſſitate the *Engliſh* to ſtay at home. The Duke freely, and in the worſt ſenſe revealed the weakneſs of his Kingdom, that his King was opinionative, and had nothing of a Prince in him but the name: His ungoverned Spirit diſdained to liſten to the temperate Counſell of ſober men, obeying only his own judgement. Such who govern'd under him, were mean perſons and of no account, great only by his favour, and indued with little vertue, who ruling as they liſted, and excluding all others, made uſe of his Authority for their own profit and advantage. The Nobility were malecontents, and affected a change in the Government; which might be eaſily brought to paſs by the aſſiſtance of King *Edward*. If he would help to raiſe ſome civill broyls and diſcention in the Nation it ſelfe, he needed not to be in fear that they could or would trouble his Country by any invaſion: The King hearing the Duke manifeſt what he moſt affected, approving his judgement, promiſed him all neceſſaries, and what he could deſire to accompliſh the deſign: and he undertaketh by ſome fair way to traffick with the Nobility of *Scotland* for an alteration of the preſent form of Government. After a dangerous intelligence, the Lords of *Scotland*, who under the ſhadow of the publick good, but really out of their diſdain and particular intereſts, conſpired againſt the *King*, ſend the Duke word, the golden Age could not be fram'd, nor Arms taken for the good of the Common-wealth, nor the State alter'd, without the ſequeſtring of thoſe from the King who miſgovern'd him. And theſe could not be remov'd by that power which was amongſt themſelvs, without great danger and trouble, conſidering the Kings faction and the malignant Party. If King *Edward* would agree to the raiſing of an Army in *England*, in favour of the Duke of *Albanie*, and for reſtoring him to his Places and inheritance, out of which he was moſt unjuſtly ejected: and other pretences, of which they ſhould afford the occaſions; which no way ſhould do harm to the Kingdom of *Scotland* diſorder'd already, and laid waſte, more by the licenſe of a Tyrant in peace, then it could have been by war; and at this time beſtow upon them favours, as they might one day hereafter challenge to receive the like; The Nobility of *Scotland* ſhould be ready with an other Army, not to fight, but to ſeize upon the Kings Favourits, and Miſgovernors of the State: for which the *Engliſh* ſhould have many thanks. That this Enterprize could not but prove moſt ſucceſsfull, the hatred of the Commons conſidered againſt ſuch violent oppreſſions. The King was fallen into ſo low eſteem, that aſſaulted by the *Engliſh*, he would be conſtrain'd by the ſubmiſſion of his Crown to intreat for ſafety. The

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King of *England* understanding this was to touch the finest string of State and Dominion (for it is a matter of much consequence and main importance, to defend the subjects of another Princes; for under this Mask and pretence of protecting the Liberties of a People, of assistance and aid, an usurpation and oppression of all liberty might be hidden; and many have established and settled themselves in those Kingdoms, which they came to relieve from tyranny, and the oppression of their Rulers, keeping by force what was granted to them at first by way of trust, and under the colour of helping usurped a Soveraignty) agreeth easily to what was demanded and resolved upon.

The Lords of the Association to play more covertly their Game, and mask their intentions (the Commons ever suffering and paying for the faults and errors of the great ones) give way for the breaking loose of the Borderers. Fierce incursions by the *English* are made upon *Scotland*, and by the *Scots* upon *England*, some Villages on either side are burnt. The secrecy to this business, which was inviolably observed, was of great importance, which is the principal knot and ty of great affairs. Rumours are spread that the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Albany*, with *Iames* late Earl of *Dowglass*, and *Alexander Iordan* and *Patrick Halyburton*, men proscrib'd, and upon whose heads a price was set, were at *Anwick* with a powerful Army, and in their march towards *Kelsoo*. The King wakened out of his Trances by the Alarms of his Nobility and clamours of the people, made proclamations to all between sixty years and sixteen to meet him at *Edenburgh*, and to be in readiness to oppose their old enemies of *England* now come upon the Borders.

After many delayes and much loytering an Army is assembled by the Nobility, which consisted of
and a number of Carts charged with small Ordinance. New incursions being blazed to have been made by the *English*, the King amidst these Troops marched to *Lawder*. The Army was encamped, and all things Ordered the best way the occasion could suffer them, little or nothing being left to Fortune, if the *English* should invade, whom the Lords knew were not at all yet gathered, and though gathered, and in a Body, and upon the Borders, or nearer, would never invade them.

The King at this time is marvellously perplexed, and become suspitious of the intentions of his Nobility in this Army, in this confusion of thoughts, fell upon two extremes. In his demeanor and conversation too familiar and inward with his old Domestick Servants and favourites, which rendred them insolent (believing the bare name of King to be suf-

ſufficient whilſt weakneſs and ſimplicity had made him deſpiſed, and them hated) and too retired, reſerved and eſtranged from his Nobilitie, which made them malicious.

This he did as his penſiveneſs conjectured, that his Nobles ſhould not attempt any thing to the prejudice of his royal Authority, independent of any Council. But what he moſt feared came to paſs; he reſolved and diſpatched all matters by his Cabinet Counſel: where the Surveyor of his Buildings was better acquainted with the affairs of the State than the graveſt of his Nobility. This prepoſterous courſe of favour made the great men of the Kingdom to fall headlong upon their raſh, though long projected attempt. After many private conferences in their Pavilions, the Chiefs of the Inſurrection, as the Earls of *Anguſs*, *Lennox*, *Huntley*, the Lords *Gray*, *Lile* and others, about midnight come together in the Church of *Lawder* with many Barons and Gentlemen. Here every of them urging the neceſſity of the times, and the dangers the Common-wealth was like to fall into, requireth ſpeedy reſolutions: and having before premeditated, deliberated and concluded what to follow, they draw up a League and confederation of mutual adherence in this order.

Foraſmuch as the King ſuffereth himſelf to be governed by mean perſons and men of no account, to the contempt of the Nobility, and his beſt Subjects, and to the great loſs of the Commons: The confederates conſidering the imminent dangers of the Kingdom, ſhall endeavour to ſeparate the Kings Majeſtie from theſe naughty upſtarts, who abuſe his Name and Authority, and deſpiſe of all good men; and have a care that the Common-wealth receive no dammage. And in this quarrel they ſhall all ſtand mutually every one to the defence of another. The deſign agreed upon, and the confederacy ſworn, the chiefs of them in Arms enter the Kings Pavilion, where, after they had challenged him of many miſorders in his Government, contrary to his honour, the Laws and good of his Kingdom, they took Sir *William Roger*, a man from a Muſitian, promoted to be a Knight, *James Homill*, *Robert Cochran*, who of a Surveyor of his works was made Earl of *Mar*, or as ſome mittigate that title, Intromittor and taker up of the Rents of that Earldom, by whoſe deviſe (ſome Authors have alleged) copper moneys had been coyned, by which a dearth was brought amongſt the Commons; which (as others have recorded) was an unjuſt imputation, for that copper money was coined in the Minority of the King, in the time of the Government of the *Boyds*, with others. All theſe being convicted by the clamours of the Army,

Army, were immediately hanged upon the Lidder. *John Ramsey* a youth of eighteen years of age, by the intreaties, Prayers, embraces of the King was preserved. Thus they the late objects of envy, were turn'd and become the objects of Pity and Compassion. The body of the Commons and the Gentry of the Kingdome by this notorious act at *Lander*, being engaged, and being made Partakers of the Quarrel of the discontented Noblemen, and for their own safety tyed to second and assist all their intentions, and to advance their ends: The King is conveyed to *Edenburgh*, and shortly after he either enclosed himself in the *Maiden Castle* as his lodging, or, which is more probable, was there, by the contrary faction committed as his Prison, the Earl of *Athole* and some other Lords being appointed to attend him.

During this time the general humour of the kingdom being ripe for mischief, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* (every thing falling right as it was plotted) prevailed so with King *Edward* that the Duke of *Gloucester* the King of *Englands* Brother, with the title of Lieutenant general for him set forwards toward *Scotland*. The Army consisted of two and twenty thousand and five hundred. In his retinue went of the Nobility, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, with them was the Duke of *Albany*. The Earl of *Douglass* came not, being reserved for an after-game. The Duke of *Albany* having been before Commander of *Berwick*, and a Man who was still in his absence beloved of that Garrison, diverted the Duke of *Glouceſter* from *Anwick* where he had incamped in *June*, to assail the Town of *Berwick*. By his intelligence they enter the Town without great opposition, and it is given up to their discretion. The Castle by the Lord *Hailles* the Captain, was made good against their assaults. The Duke of *Glouceſter* fore-seeing that this Siege would spend much time, considering the uncertainty of events, and being invited to march forward by the Lords of the association of *Scotland*, committing the charge of assailing the Castle to the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Parr*, with the body of the Army marched directly to *Edenburgh*.

The Countrey lay open to their invasion; no Army taking the Field to oppose them, they came in *Scotland* the twentieth
1482. day of *August* 1482. the Army encamped at *Restlerig*, the Duke himself entred the Town of *Edenburgh* which at the intreaty of the Duke of *Albany*, who was his Harbinger, he spar'd, receiving such presents as the Citizens offer'd unto him: His entry seeming rather a Triumph than hostile invasion. The King being shut up from him and immured in the Castle, the Duke by a publick writing at the Market Places gave out high

high Demands; That King *Iames* ſhould perform what he had covenanted with his Brother King *Edward*; That he ſhould give ſatisfaction for the damage done the *Engliſh* during the laſt inroads of the Borders, which if he refuſed to accompliſh, He as Lievtenant to his Brother was to exact of him and take ſatisfaction of his Countrey, denouncing him open war, and proclaiming him all Hoſtility. King *Iames* forſaken of his People, and wrong'd by his Lords, laying aſide his Paſſions, and taking to him more moderate and diſcreet thoughts, as a Man in Priſon, anſwered nothing to his Demands.

The Lords, who by their Kings misfortune had reckoned their felicity, having obtain'd what they chiefly deſir'd, to obviate the common and laſt danger, the thraldom of their kingdom by theſe ſtrangers whom they had drawn into the Country for the recovery of their Liberties, aſſemble themſelves together at *Hadington* with ſome Companies, not to fight but to ſupplicate. They ſent the Lord *Darnley* and the elected Biſhop of *Murray* to intreat a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and require a firm and laſting Peace for time to come: The beginning of the war, and taking of Arms was for the ſafety of this the neighbour Countrey of *England*, miſerably thral'd by a licentious Prince: there was nothing more unworthy of a King or Republick, than not to keep their promiſ'd Faith. The *Engliſh* could have no colour for executing their indignation further upon this Countrey, which already by the rapine of their own Men was impoveriſh'd and unmanur'd: Only now to be recover'd by entertaining Peace with their Neighbours, and amongſt themſelvs. They require that the Marriage contracted between the Prince of *Rotheſay* and Lady *Cicily* King *Edwards* Daughter might be accompliſh'd when it ſhould pleaſe the King of *England*, and the age of the two Princes might ſuffer it. For any ſpoyl taken in theſe laſt incurſions, the intereſt conſider'd upon both ſides, ſatisfaction ſhould be given out of the publick contributions. The Duke of *Gloceſter* as forgetting and ſeeming not to know the grounds of their coming into the Country, and looking to nothing more then his own fame and Glory, Anſwer'd, his coming into *Scotland*, was to right the honour of his Country ſo often violated: and to reſtore the Duke of *Albanie*, unjuſtly commanded to exile, to his own native ſoyl, and the dignity of his Birth: as concerning the Mariage of the Prince of *Scotland* with the Daughter of *England*, He knew not how his Brothers reſolution ſtood at the preſent; whereupon he requir'd repayment of the monies lent to their King upon the firſt agreement: and withall a delivery of the Caſtle of *Barwick* up into his hands: or if

they could not make the Castle to be render'd, they should give their oaths upon the holy Evangelists that they should neither assist the besieged, nor harm the Besiegers, till the Castle were either by force taken, or upon fair conditions rendred.

The Lords having received this answer, yielded freely to all the Conditions, except they found themselves perplexed in the rendring of *Berwick*: it being a *Town* of old appertaining to the Crown of *Scotland*, though by force and violence the *English* had a long time kept it, that did not take away their right and title. After much contesting, agreeing to the surrender of *Berwick*, they desired that the walls of the Town should be demolished, that it might not be a place of Tyrannie and incursion over their bordering Countreys. No arguments could prevail against the Duke of *Glouceſters* resolutions, and being stronger in power he persever'd in his demands, and in all likelihood this was agreeed upon between the Duke of *Albany* and the confederate Lords, and the *English*, before their entring *Scotland*. Thus the Castle and Town of *Berwick* returned to the *English* the 24. of *August* 1482. after it had been delivered by Queen *Margarite* to gain Sanctuary for her Husband King *Henry* (when expelled *England*) and remained in the possession of the *Scots* twenty and one years.

They likewise appointed a day for restitution of all the moneys lent by King *Edward*, and promised upon a full discussion to make satisfaction for all dammages done the *English* by any in-road of the *Scottish* Borders. For the Duke of *Albanies* provision, whose safety was principally pretended in this expedition, a general pardon was promised for him and all his followers; Together with an abolition of all discontents; Whereby he had given unto him the Castle of *Dumbar*, with the Earldoms of *Mar* and *March*; he should be reinvested in all his former Dignities and Places; and by consent of the Nobility of *Scotland*, he was proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

The Peace proclaimed, the Duke of *Glouceſter* in all solemnity of greatness returned towards *London*, being welcomed by the King with many demonstrations of great joy. He to show how much he approved the conditions of this Peace, went solemnly in procession from St. *Stevens* Chappel, now the Parlament House, accompanied with the Queen his Sister, and a mighty retinue of the greatest Lords into *Westminster* Hall. Where in presence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *James Liddale*, Embassadours extraordinary

dinary from *Scotland*, the peace was ratifyed. At the return of the *Scots* Embaſſadours to their Countrey, King *Edward* ſent an Herauld with them, who in his Maſters name gave over the marriage contracted between the Lady *Cicilia* and the Prince of *Rothſay*, and required the money which had been delivered upon hopes of conſummation to his King. The Citizens of *Edenburgh* had given their Bond for the redelivery, and a day being granted to them for the payment, they at the appointed day intirely delivered the ſum. Some thought King *Edward* recalled this marriage of a ſuſpition he conceived, that the Ambition of the Duke of *Albany*, and the hatred of the Subjects againſt their King, amidſt the manifold diſtractions of the Realm, might hazard the Succeſſion of the Prince of *Rothſay* to the Crown. But King *Edward* having gained what he had endeavoured moſt to acquire, a diviſion amongſt the Nobles of *Scotland*, and by this a Security from their aſſiſting the *French*, rejected the Match. Beſides the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who after his comming in *Scotland*, was laying the foundations of the uſurping the Crown of *England*, his Brother once dead, thought the alliance of his Brothers Daughter with a King of *Scotland*, too ſtrong a Support to that Race, which he was to declare Baſtards, and a Rock upon which he was confident he ſhould make a fearful ſhipwrack. Neither his Brothers Daughter being marryed to a King of ſuch martiall and turbulent Subjects as the people of *Scotland*, durſt he ever attempt the taking away of her Brothers; and King *Edward* in neglect of this match committed a greater errour of State than he did in his marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, and forſaking the Lady *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*.

According to the Records of ſome Authors whilſt the King is kept nine Moneths in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellour, the Earl of *Arguile*, the Arch-biſhop of *St. Andrews*, the Earl of *Athole* his Uncle (who for the preſervation of his perſon and honour of his Office accepted the charge to attend him in that Fortreſs) governed the State.

The King (ſay the honeſt Records) had all honour which appertained to a Prince, ſave that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to ſpeak unto him, except in the audience of ſome one of his Lords Keepers; and that his Chamber doors were ſhut before the ſetting of the Sun and long after the riſing opened. Proclamations are publiſht in his name and Authority, and other publick writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free

and absolute Prince, when near he was but a King in phantasie, and his Throne but a Picture, the regal Authority being turned into a cloak to cover the Passions of those who did govern.

The Duke of *Albany* dayly importuned by the solicitations, Prayers and tears of the Queen (a calm and temperate Lady) for her Husbands Liberty; finding himself not so respected by the other Governours as his birth and merits did deserve; being a man who delighted in nothing more than in changes and novations of Court and State: after so many scorns and rebukes offered to his Brother, and King, commiserating his long sufference, and believing that good turns would make past offences be forgotten, and recent benefits were sufficient to blot away old injuries, withall remembrance of former discontents, whilst the other Governours at *Sterling*, securely passed the time, posted in the night to *Edenburgh*. Here a meeting being appointed of some of his friends and Vassals, who knew nothing of his intentions, by the assistance of the Citizens of *Edenburgh* (men intirely loving their King and devoted to him all the time of the insurrection of his Nobles) who gave the first assault, (yet was it rather their intelligence than force) the Castle is surprised, the King and all his Servants set at libertie. This unexspected and noble act of the Duke of *Albany*, having so fortunate a success, brought a mighty change on the Court and State. The King is now again reinstall'd, and hath this residence in his own Palace, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen, have frequent concourse; rejoicing to see such evident tokens of love pass between the two Brothers, if their affection could have continued. The Provost and Baylies of *Edinburgh* in recompence of their service, were made Sheriffs within all the bounds of their own Territories, and rewarded with other privileges contained in that patent, which they call their golden Charter 1482. The Lords of the contrary faction, who remained at *Sterlin*, by this new accident, betook themselves to new thoughts and considerations, every man full of fears and repinings flying to his own dwelling place, and conceaving a great hatred against the Duke of *Albany*. They said he was inconstant, rash, mad, in setting at liberty the man who would prove his Executioner, and one who would never forget any profer'd injury: that if he perished before them, it was but his own just deserving and procurement. The Duke contemning those reproaches, and answering their calumnies and evil words with patience and good deeds, by the mediation of the Earl of *Angus*, studied a reconciliation between the King and his discontented Lords. And his endeavours had such good success, that in a

short

short time after this Atonement; some of them turned so familiar and inward with the King, that, like the *Ivy*, they began to sap the wall by which they had been supported. They made the wound of the Kings old jealousies ranckle again, and added poison to former discontents; remembring him of the unnaturalness of his Brothers first Rebellion, and assuring him that his antient Ambition had yet more power of him than his new fears of honesty and respect. That howsoever he shewed outwardly the arguments of a reconciled Brother, he loved yet to govern, and aimed at the Crown. That he had wrought his liberty to bring a greater confusion in the State than he had ever done before. The King, who ever had a watchful eye over his reconciled Enemies, and who desired to be freed and fairly quited of them all, gave way to their calumnies. And they after long deliberation resolve upon a plot to bring the Duke within compass of law: and summoned him to answer upon Treason. And this was the rendring of the Town of *Berwick* to the *English*: which they undertook to prove was only by his intelligence, procuration and being in company with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in that expedition. Though the Duke had an absolute and general pardon and an abolition for all was past, and the Kings hand at it, they doubted not to null and make it void. All being done by a King constrained by a powerful Army, and a close prisoner, which writing could not oblige any private man far less a King: what he then bargained was upon constraint and yielded unto upon hopes of saving his life, and an act exacted by force. The Duke of *Albany* finding by the malice and detraction of a malignant faction, his brothers countenance altered towards him: and danger the requital of his late setting him at liberty, the established reconciliation being shaken by suspitions and fancy of revenge, obeying necessity, fled to his Castle of *Dumbar*, out of which he came to *England* to present to King *Edward* and the Duke of *Glouceſter* the consideration of his grievances.

In his absence he is convinced of many points of treason, besides the being accessarie to the taking of *Berwick* by the *English*. As his dangerous and long intelligence with the King of *England*: his sending of many Messengers at all occasions unto him. That, without any safe-conduct or pass from his Brother, and not so much as acquainting him, he had left the Countrey, come into *England* to devise conspiracies against his King and native Kingdom. The Lord *Creighton* as his friend associate and complice, is forefeited with him, against whom Informations were given, that often and divers times, under the pretence of hunting, secretly with the Duke af *Albany*, he road into *England*, and there

meeting

meeting with Commissioners sent by King *Edward*, he deliberated of matters concerning novations and of the altring the state, That there he kept appointments with *James* Earl of *Dowglass*, the often quench'd fire-brand of his Country. That in spight of the Kings forces sent there to lie in Garrison, he kept the Castle of *Creighton*. The greatest discontent the King conceived a gainst him was love to one of his Sisters, and some feminine jealousies. When the Duke understood the proceedings against himself and the Lord *Creighton*, and that for their contumacy and not appearing to answer and give in their answer, they were convict of Treason, and their lands to be seased upon; He caused give up the Castle of *Dumbar*, of which he was Lieutenant, to King *Edward*, who immediately placed by Sea a Garrison in it.

About this time *Edward* King of *England* left this world 1483. and his brother *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, did first take the name of Protector and Governor of the Kingdom of *England*, and after his brothers Sons put in the Tower, and their Mother the Queen taking Sanctuary, in the moneth of *June* possest himself of the Crown.

The Duke of *Albany* finding that *Richard* by his change of Fortune had not changed his affection towards him, imploreth his aid in restoring him to his own, and repairing not his wrongs alone, but a wrong done in his sufferings to the King of *England*, sith there was now an open breach of the Truce and Peace so solemnly by him set down and confirmed by his Brother. If he could be furnished but with a few number of choice men of reputation and power to pass into *Scotland*, and take a tryal of the Minds and good will of his friends and confederates, he douted not at his entring the Countrey to finde numbers who by his presence would hazzard upon the most desperate dangers.

Richard finding the man his Supplicant with whom he endeavoured once an intire friendship, and whose advancement in Authority he had most studied, condescendeth that five hundred men and Horses should be chosen upon the borders, with others who were outlawes and necessitated sometime to make incursions, and with *James* the old Earl of *Dowglase*, a man well known and renowned in the West-borders, should make an in-road into *Scotland*.

The two and twentie day of *July*, the banished Champion having chosen a good number of their borderers put forward towards *Loch. Maben* to surprize a Fair, spoil a publick Market, seise upon all the Buyers and Sellers, which here meet and traffick every St. *Magdalens* festival, under pretence of Devotion and the liberty of trading many *English* had hither resorted: at the twelfth hour of the day when the Merchants

chants and Countrey-people were in greateſt ſecurity, the burſe is invaded and not bloud but wares ſought after; the Lard of *Johnſtoun* who was warden, and lard of *Cock-pool*, with many ſtout borderers having ſurveyed and Ridden through the places where the people were met, to prevent and hinder all diſorders and dangers, at the noiſe of an incurſion of the *Engliſh*, diſpatch Poaſts to the adjacent bounds for ſupply, and in the mean time rencounter the plunderers of the Fair. Here is it fought with greater courage than force, and in a long continued ſkirmiſh the danger of the loſs ſtir'd up and incited the parties as much as fame and glory.

The day was neer ſpent leaving the advantage to either ſide diſputable, when the ſupply of freſh men come to defend their Countrey, and friends turned the Fortune of the fight, and put the *Engliſh* borders all to the rout. The Duke of *Albany* by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and the good attendance of his Servants winneth *Engliſh* ground: but the Earl of *Dowglaſs* loaden and heavy with years and armes, is taken by *Robert Kirken-patrick* (who for that ſervice got the lands of *Kirk-michael*) and brought as in triumph to *Edenburgh*. It is recorded that when the Earl was come in the Kings preſence, he turn'd his back & refuſed to look him in the face, conſidering the many outrages he had perpetrated againſt his Father, and this late offence. The King taken with the goodly perſonage, gravity and great age of the man, commiſerating his long patience and croſs fortune being in his young daies deſigned to be a Church-man, confined him as in a free Priſon in the Abacy of *Lyndores*.

Beſides he conſidered that when occaſion ſerved he might bring him out of this ſolitarineſs, and in theſe turbulent times by his counſel and preſence play more advantageouſly his game of State, being a man of long experience in the affairs of the world, and the moſt learned of all his Nobility. He was now become tyred of the Earl of *Anguſs*, the remembrance of his firſt offence remaining deeply ingraven in his heart, and to counterpoiſe his greatneſs this was the only weight. The Duke of *Albany* found little better entertainment in *England*, the battel being loſt, ſome men taken and killed (this being the firſt roade upon *Scotland* under the reign of *Richard*, who had been formerly ſo fortunate in his own perſon) his fame injur'd, and reputation by this diminiſhed, the Duke began to be diſliked, and was not received with that kindneſs he was wont, whereupon by the aſſiſtance and convoy of *John Liddale*, he ſecretly retired to *France*.

After the road of *Lochmaben* ſundry incurſions are made by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* borders, and by the *Engliſh* upon the *Scottiſh*: The Champian ground is ſcoured, houſes

are

are burnt, booties taken, with great loss to both, and little advantage to any of the parties. *Richard* having his reign in the infancy, and not yet settled nor come to any growth and maturity, being obnoxious to the scandal of his Brothers Sons, and possessed with fears of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* then remaining in *France*, who by all honest and good men was earnestly invited to come home, and hazard one day of battail for a whole Kingdom, knowing it necessary for the advancement of his designs to have peace with all his neighbour Princes, to render himself more secure and safe at home, and terrible to his enemies abroad, sendeth Embassadours to *Scotland* to treat a Peace, or a suspension of Arms for som years; King *James* no sooner rocked in the Cradle of State than *Richard*; chearfully accepteth this Embassage; for by a peace he may a little calm the stormy and wild minds of tumultuous Subjects, reducing them to a more quiet fashion of living, and seclude his Rebels and banisht from entertainment in *England*, and all places of Refuge and Sanctuary. The two Kings agreeing in substance, Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Nottingham* the seventeenth day of *September*. For the King of *Scotland* appear'd the Earl of *Arguil*, *William Elphinstoun* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Drummond* of *Stobhall*, the Lord *Olyphant*, *Archebald Whitelaw* Secretary, *Doncan Dundass*, *Lyon* King of Arms. For *Richard* of *England* appeared the *Duke of Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Stanley*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Fitshugh*, *John Gunthrope* privy Seal, *Thomas Borrow*, Master of the Rolls, Sir *Thomas Bryan* Chief Justice.

In the latter end of *Septemb.* these conclude a peace between both Realms for the space of 3 years. The same to begin at the rising of the Sun *Septem.* 29. in the year 1484. and to continue unto the setting of the Sun on the 29. of *Sept.* in the year 1487. During which time it was aggreed that not only all hostility and war should cease between the two Realms, but that also all aid and assistance against enemies should be afforded.

It was agreed, the Town and Castle of *Berwick* should remain in the hands of the *English* for the space of the foresaid term, with the same bounds the *English* possessed.

That all other Castles, Holds, Fortresses during the term of thr e years should remain in the hands of those that held them at that present, the Castle of *Dunbar* only excepted, which the Duke of *Albany* delivered to the *English* when he left his Countrey. Which Castle for the space of six moneths should be exposed to the invasion of the *Scots*, if they could obtain it, and during the assaulting of this Castle, the Truce should not be broken. Neither should the *English* within the Castle do any harm to the *Scots* dwelling thereabouts, except

to

to those who invade the Castle, and at that time. And that it should be lawful to any of the Parties to use all Statagems, and extend their power either for winning or defending the said Castle.

It was agreed, *That no Traitor of either Realm should be received by any of the Princes of the other Realms: and if any Traitor or Rebell chance to arrive in either Realm, the Prince thereof should deliver him upon demand made.*

Scots *abiding within the Realm of* England *and sworn there to the King, may remain still, so there names be made known to the King of* Scotland *within fourty daies.*

If any Warden of either Realm shall invade the others Subjects, he to whom such a Warden is subject shall within six daies, proclaim him Traitor, and certifie the other Prince thereof within twelve daies.

In every safe conduct this Clause shall be contained, Providing alwaies that the Obtainer of the safe Conduct be no Traitor.

If any of the Subjects of either Prince, do presume to aid and help maintain and serve any other Prince, against any of the Contractors of this Truce, Then it shall be lawful for him to whom he shewed himself enemy, to apprehend and attach the said Subject, comming or tarrying within any of their Dominions.

Collegues comprehended in the Truce (if they would assent thereunto) on the English *part were, the King of* Castile, the King of *Arragon, the* King of *Portugal*, the Arch-Duke of *Austria* and *Burgundy* the Duke of *Bretaign. Upon the* Scottish *part*, Charles King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, The Duke of *Guilderland, this treaty was appointed to be published the first of October in all the great and notable Towns of both Realms.*

It was agreed that Commissioners should meet at Loch-maben *the* 18. *of* November *as well for redress of wrongs done on the west Marches, as for declaring and publishing the peace, where the greatest difficultie was to have it observed.*

Richard after this truce intreated a marriage between the Prince of *Rothsay* eldest Son to King *James*, and Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk* of his Sister. To this effect Embassadours meet at *Nottingham*, others say at *York*, and it is concluded. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingrossed and seal'd. And affiances made and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both parts. Lady *Anne* thereafter being stiled the Princess of *Rothsay*. But by the death of her Uncle she injoyed not long that title.

After the league and intended marriage, King *Iames* wrote friendly letters to *Richard* concerning the Castle of *Dumbar*, Whether he could be content that the same should remain only six moneths in the power of the *English*, or during the whole space of Truce? That he was not minded to seek it

by arms during the term of the whole Truce. Notwithstanding he earnestly required out of the bond of Love and Friendship between them, since it was given unto the *English* by Treason, and neither surprised nor taken in lawful war, it might be friendly rendred. *Richard* dallyd with him, and pass'd away that purpose with complemental Letters all the time of his Government, which was not long; for the year 1486. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* came with some companies out of *France* (of which that famous Warriour *Bernard Stuart* Lord *Aubany*, Brother to the Lord *Darnley* in *Scotland*, had the leading) which by the resort of his Countrey men turned into an Army, and rencountred *Richard* at *Bosworth* where he was killed, and *Henry* proclaimed King of *England*: To which victory it was uncertain whether virtue or fortune did more contribute.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* before this disaster of *Richard*, at a Tilting with *Lovys* Duke of *Orleance* by the splint of a Spear in his head had received his death-wound 1483 He was a man of great courage, an enemy to rest and peace, delighting in constant changes and novations. He left behind two Sons, *John* Duke of *Albany* begotten of his second marriage upon the Earl of *Bulloignes* Daughter, who was Tutor to King *James* the fifth and Governour of *Scotland*, and *Alexander* born of the Earl of *Orkenays* Daughter his first wife, Bishop of *Murray*, and Abbot of *Skroon*. Into which places he was intruded, to make the Government of his other Brother more peaceable.

Margarite the Queen about these times, a good and vertuous Lady, died 1486. and was buried at *Cambuskennel* the 29. of *February*.

The overthrow and death of *Richard* being known abroad, King *James*, taking the advantage of the time, besieged the Castle of *Dumbar*. The garrison'd Souldiers finding no relief nor assistance from their Countrey, and ascertained of the change of their Master, rendered up the Fort to the hands of the *Scots*; it was of no great importance to the *English*, and only served to be a fair bridge of Treason for *Scottish* Rebels, and a Cittadel of Conspiracies.

Henry King of *England* after his victory and Coronation, sent *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Excester*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Embassadours to King *Iames*, for renewing the Truce, and if it were possible, to agree upon a stable and lasting Peace between the Realms. King *Iames* taking a promise of the secrecy of the Embassadours, that what he imparted to them, should not be laid open to his Nobility, told, *He earnestly affected a Peace with all his Neighbours, but above all others with their King, as much for his own valour, as for the honour*

and

and interests of the two Kingdoms: But he knew his people so stubborn and opposite to all his designs, that if they understood his mind and resolutions, they would endeavour to cross his intentions; wherefore publickly he could only condescend to seven years truce, a long peace being hardly obtained from men brought up in the free licence of war, who disdained to be restrained within the Narrow limits of Laws. Notwithstanding they should undertake for him to King Henry, *in the word of a Prince. that this Truce before the exspiring of it should be renewed, and with all solemnityes again confirmed.*

The Embassadours respecting his good will towards their King, accepted the conditions. Thus was there a Truce or Peace covenanted and confirmed for seven years to come between the two Realms.

After so many back-blows of fortune and such canvassing, the King enjoying a Peace with all his Neighbours abroad, became exceeding religious; the miseries of life drawing the mind to the contemplations of what shall be after it. During his residence at *Edenburgh* he was wont to come in Procession from the Abby of *Holy-rood-house* to the Churches in the High-Town every Wednesday and Fryday. By which devotion he became beloved of his People: Nothing more winning their hearts than the opinion they have of the Sanctity of a person. And that he did not this for the fashion nor hypocrisy, the application of his wit and power to the administration of strict justice did prove; for he began to suppress the insolencies of strong oppressors, defend and maintain the Rights of the poor, against Tyrants and abusers of their Neighbors. He sitteth himself in Council dayly, and disposeth affairs of most weight in his own person.

In the Moneth of *October* following the Peace with *England*, 1487. a Parlament was called, in which many acts were made against Oppressours. Justices were appointed to pass thorough the whole Kingdom, and see malefactors deservedly punished. Acts were made that no convention of friends should be suffered for the accompanying and defence of criminal Persons: But that every one attainted should appear at the most with six Proctors; that, if found guilty, they should not be reft from Justice by strong hand. Such of the Nobility who feared and consequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the love of his people by his piety in the observance of Religion, and his severity in executing Justice, were driven unto new meditations. They began to suspect he would one day free himself from these turbulent Spirits who could not suffer him to enjoy a Peace, nor raign. He had advanced at this time to Offices of State and Places men whose Fortunes did wholly depend upon his

ſafety and wel-fare: at which ſome Noblemen whoſe Ambition was to be in publick charge and of the Counſell, pretending to that out of right, which was only due unto them by favour, did highly ſtorm and look upon thoſe others with envious eyes. The King thus falling againe into his old ſickneſs, they bethought them how to renew their old remedie. They were alſo jealous of the remembrance of the diſ-ſervice they had done him, and that he would never forget old quarrells; They were prepared and ready to make a Revolution of the ſtate, but had not yet found their Center to begin motion, nor a ground for Rebellion. All this while there was not matter enought for an inſurrection, nor to diſpoſe the Peoples Hearts to a Mutinie.

The King delighted with his Buildings of the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and the amenity of the Place, for he had raiſed there a faire and ſpacious Hall, and founded a College for divine ſervice, which he named the Chappel Royal: and beginning to be poſſeſt and taken up with the Religion of theſe times, endeavoured to endow this foundation with conſtant Rents, and ample Revenues, and make this Rock the choyſe Sanctuary of his Devotions. The Priory of *Coldingham*, then vacant and fallen in his hands, he annexed the ſame to his Chappel Royal, and procured an Act of Parliament that none of the Lieges ſhould attempt to doe contrary to this union and annexation, or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of *Rome* under the paine of Treaſon. The Priors of this Convent having been many years of the Name of *Hume*, it was by the Gentlemen of that Name ſurmi'ſd that they ſhould be intereſted and wronged in their Eſtates, by reaſon of the Tithes and other Caſualtyes appertaining to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Sirname were promoted to this Place. The King being often petitioned and implored that he ſhould not alter the accuſtom'd form of the Election of that Prior, nor remove it from their Name, nor ſuffer the Revenues to be otherways beſtowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his reſolution of annexing them to his Chapel: after long pawſing and deliberation amongſt themſelves, as men ſtirred up by the male-contents and a proud faction, fit for any the moſt dangerous entrpriſe, they proceed upon ſtronger Grounds to over-turn his intentions and divert his purpoſe. The Lord *Hailles* and others of the Sirname of *Hepburn*, had been their conſtant friends, Allies and Neighbours; with them they enter in a combination, that they ſhould mutually ſtand to the defence of others, and not ſuffer any Prior to be received for *Coldingham* if he were not of one of their two Sirnames. This Covenant is firſt privately by ſome mean Gentlemen ſworn, who

who after draw on their Chiefs to be of the Party. Of how ſmall beginnings doth a great miſchief ariſe; the male contended Lords knowing thoſe two Sirnames to be numerous, active and powerfull in thoſe parts of the Countrey where they remayn'd, lay hold upon this Overture, and beginning from their particulars they make the cauſe to be general. they ſpread Rumours abroad that the King was become terrible and not to be truſted; notwithſtanding all his Proteſtations and outward demeanour, that he yet meditated Revenge, and had begun to invade and ſhake the ancient privileges of the *Humes*, more out of Spight and diſcontent againſt them for having aſſiſted and follow'd the Lords of the Reformation of the State, than any intention of the increaſing the Rents of his new erected Chappel. That ere long he would be avenged upon all whom he either knew were acceſſary, or ſuſpected to have been upon the Plot of *Lawder* Bridg, or his committing in the Caſtle of *Edenbrough*. That it was ſome time better to commit a fault unpardonable than venture under the Pardon. That the King had taken a Reſolution to live upon the Peoples contributions, and give his owne Revenues to particular Men. The faults of his Counſellours are highly exaggerated. They were baſe Perſons, and he himſelf given to diſſimulation, miſdevotion and revenge; as occaſion ſerved he would remember old wrongs: It was good to obey a King but not to lay the head upon a Block to him, if a Man could ſave himſelf.

After along ſmother of diſcontent and hatred of the Nobility and People, rankor breaking dayly forth into Seditions and alterations, The Lord *Hume* and *Haylles* being the Ring-Leaders, many Noblemen and Gentlemen under fained pretences, eſpecially the courſes of ſwift Horſes, keep frequent meetings. Where they renew their Covenant agreed upon at *Lawder* Church, the neceſſity of the times and the danger of the Common-wealth requiring it, and gave their oaths that at what time ſoever the King ſhould chalenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their Rights, Poſſeſſions, Places, Perſons, They ſhould abide together as if they were all one Body, marry each others quarrells, and the wrongs done to any one of them ſhould be done to them all.

When the King underſtood the confederacy of the Lords, to anticipate the Danger, he made choyſe of a Guard for the preſervation of his Perſon and Servants, Of which he made *John Ramſay* of *Balmayne*, a Man whom he had preſerved at *Lawder* and advanced to be Maiſter of his houſhold at Court, Captain: giving him a warrant not to ſuffer any Man in Arms approach the Court by ſome miles. This in ſtead of

cooling

cooling, exasperated the Choler of the Male-contents, and stirr'd them to assemble with numerous Retinues all in Arms. The King scarce beleeving the Mindes of so many were corrupted, and perswading himself the Authority of the publick name of a King would supply the want of some Power, summond certain of them upon fourty days to answer according to Law.

Of those some rent his Summons, and beat shamefully his Heraulds and Messengers for discharging their Offices: Others appeared, but with numbers of their Adherents, Friends, Allies and Vassals: And here he found that the faults of great Delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of, and reprehended; he used some Stratagems to surprise the Heads and chiefs of their faction: But unadvisedly giving trust to the promises of those who lent their ears, but not their hearts to his words, his designs were discovered before they produced any effect; his secrets all laid open to his great hatred and disadvantage, the discoverers taking themselves to the factious Rebells, and cherishing unkind thoughts in all whom they saw distasted with his Government; Perceiving himself betrayed and his intentions divulged, he remained in great doubt to whom he should give credit. The nature and manner of all things changed by the League of the Confederates, he thought it high time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them Masters of his person. To temporize and win time, caused furnish the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Sterling* with provision of Victual, Ammunition, and Garrisons to defend them from the dangers of war; he resolved to make his aboad beyond the River of *Forth*, and to leave the south Parts of the Kingdom. After which deliberation he entred a Ship of Sir *Andrew Wood* (a famous Navigator and stout Commander at Sea) which pretended to make sail for the low Countreys, and was lying at Anchor in the *Forth*. These who saw him aboard, spread a rumour that he was flying to *Flanders*. The Lords of the insurrection making use of this false report seised on his carriage in the Passages towards the North, rifled his Coffers, spoiled his Servants of their stuff and baggage. And then after certainty that he was but landed in *Fyfe*, and from that was in progress to the Northern parts, preparing and directing his good Subjects to be in readiness to attend him at his return, they surprised the Castle of *Dumbar*. The Moneys found in his Coffers wage Souldiers against him, and the Harness and Weapons of his Magazines arm them. Having gathered some companies together, tumultuously they overrun the Countreys upon the South of the *Forth*, riffling and plundering all men who

who went not with them, or whom they ſuſpected not to favour their deſperate and ſeditious ends. In his progreſs the King held Juſtice Courts at *Aberdeen* and *Innereſs*, where *William* Lord *Creighton*, not long before impeacht with the Duke of *Albany*, ſubmitted himſelf to his Clemency, and was received in favour and pardoned: after which grace he ſhortly left this world. Whilſt the King in the North, the Lords in the South are making their preparations; When they were aſſembled at *Lithgow* they find themſelves many in number and ſtrong in power; the ſucceſs of their proceedings being above their hopes: there only wanted a Man eminently in eſteem with the people, and noble of Birth, to give luſtre to their Actions, ſhadow their Rebellion, and be the titular and painted head of their Arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great Man, they aſſented all that there was none to be paralleld to the Prince of *Rothſay* the Kings own Son. So ſtrongly providence befools all human wiſdom and foreſight; his keepers being corrupted by gifts, penſions and promiſes of divers Rewards, he is delivered into their hands: and by threats, that they would otherwaies give up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, he is conſtrained to go with them. To heighten the hatred againſt the King, and the cloſlier to deceive the people (for the love of ſubjects is ſuch towards their natural Kings, that except they be firſt deceived by ſome pretence and notable ſophiſm, they will not ariſe altogether in arms and rebel) they make proclamations and by their Deputies by way of Remonſtrances ſpread abroad ſeditious Papers, in what a Sea of blood would theſe men launch into? that all true Subjects ſhould come in defence of the Prince, and take arms; becauſe his Fathers jealouſies and ſuperſtitious fears were riſen to that height that nothing but his Sons death or impriſonment could temperate them. That he was raiſing an Army to take his Son out of their hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own Brothers. That force was the onely means to work his ſafety and keep the Plotters of this miſchief within bounds, they alſo ſhould take arms to reduce the Government to a better form, for that the Kingdom was oppreſſed with inſupportable grievances: the King being altogether given to follow the advice, projects and counſels of baſe men; to amaſs and gather great ſums of money from his people, upon which he ſtudied to maintain his Court and State, and give away his own.

When the Engin was prepared for the people, and ſpread abroad, they ſent to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, then cloſely as a Monck ſhut up in the Abby of *Lyndores*, to come out, be of the Party, and aſſiſt them with his Counſel and Friends, promiſing

mising if their attempt had happy Succeſs, to reſtore him again to his ancient poſſeſſions and Heritage, former dignitys and the Places of honour of his Anceſtors. The Earl, whom time and long experience had made wary and circumſpect, having a ſuſpition the Earl of *Angus*, who poſſeſſed the greateſt part of his eſtate, had been the chief motioner of this liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, then that he minded really to ſet him free, refuſed to come out of his Cloiſter. And by his letters diſſwaded them from their bold enterprize againſt their Prince; wiſhing they would ſet his houſe and himſelf for a pattern & preſident of Rebellion. He ſent to all ſuch of his Friends whom his diſaſters had left unruined, to take arms for the King, as the *Dowglaſſes* of *Kayvers* and others.

The King neither loſing courage nor councel for the greatneſs of the danger of the Rebellion, truſting much to his good fortune, with ſuch forces as came with him from the North, in Captain *Woods* Ships and other Boats and Veſſels prepared to that end, paſſeth the *Forth* near the *Blackneſs*, an old Fortreſs and Sea port in *Weſt Lothian*, not far from the Caſtle of *Abercorn*, and that place where the Forces of the Earl of *Dowglaſs* left him, and the King his Father obtained ſo harmleſs a victory. Before the arrival of the King at this Place, the Earls of *Montroſs*, *Glencarn*, Lords *Maxwell* and *Ruthven* with others, advertiſed by Letters of the Rendevouz, had come to the Place, had encamped, and were attending him. And he muſtered a ſufficient Army to rencounter the Lords of the aſſociation, who from all quarters were aſſembled, having with them the Prince to add Authority to their quarrel. The two Armies being in readineſs to decide their indifferences by a Battail, the Earl of *Athole* the Kings Uncle ſo travailed between the Lords of either party and the King, that a ſuſpention of Armes was agreed upon and reconcilement: and the Earl of *Athole* rendered himſelf a pledge for the accompliſhing of the Kings part of the reconcilement, to the Lord *Haylles*, and was ſent to be kept in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*.

This was not a ſmall fault of this Prince: the Confederates forces were not at this time equall to his, neither had they eſſayed to hinder the landing of his Army, being but in gathering; the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* was for his defence, and his Ships traverſing up and down the *Forth*, in caſe of neceſſity for ſuccour. That if he had hazarded a battail, he had been neer to have recovered all that reputation he had before loſt. Now upon either ſide ſome common Souldiers are diſbanded, ſome Gentlemen licenſed to return to their own dwelling places. The King in a peaceable manner retireth

tireth to the Castle of *Edenburgh*. The Earl of *Athole* was now removed from him, and many of the other Lords who loved him returned to their houses; the Counsel of man not being able to resist the determinations of God. The Lords suspecting still the King to be implacable in their behalf and unaccessible in his Castle, keeping the Prince alwaies with them, entring upon new meditations hold sundry meetings how to have his person in their power, and make him a prey to their ambitious designs. The Town of *Edinburgh* is pestered with troups of armed men, the Villages about repleniſhed with Soldiours. The *King* warned of his danger, fortifies of new the Castle of *Edenburgh* for his defence, and is brought to such a tameness, that resolving to do that with love of every man which he feared in end he should be constrained unto with the universal hatred of all, and his own damage and danger, out of a passive fortitude sent Commissioners, indifferent Noble men, to the Lords and his Son to understand their intentions and what they meant. Why his Son was kept from him, and continued the head of their faction. Why his Uncle was so closely imprison'd, and himself as it were blocked up by their tumultuous meetings in Arms? He was content they should have an abolition of all that was past, that their punishments should not be infinitely extended, and that they should think upon a general agreement after the best and fittest manner they could devise, and set it down. They finding their offences flew higher than hope of pardon could ascend unto. Their suspitions, and the conscience of their crime committed, breeding such a distrust out of an apprehension of fear, answered that they found no true meaning. Open war was to be preferred to a peace full of deceit, danger and fears, that being assured he would weave out his begun projects against them, they could not think of any safety, nor have assurance of their lives nor fortunes, unless he freely resigned the title of his Crown and Realm in favour of his Son, and voluntarily deposed himself, leaving the Government of the People and Kingdome to the Lords of his Parliament, divesting himself wholly of his Royall dignity. Neither would they come to any submission or capitulation, until he consented to this main point and granted it submissively.

King *James* notwithstanding of this answer, after a cleer prospect of the inconveniences and mischiefs which were growing, and the many injuries, indignities, and affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a peace, sought unto *Henry* King of *England*, as also to the *Pope* and King of *France* to

make an attonment between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner, not only by way of request and perswasion; but also by way of protestation and menace, declaring that they thought it to be the common cause of all Kings, if Subjects should be suffered to give Lawes unto their Soveraign; a legitimate King, though a Tyrant, was not subordinate to the Authority of *Subjects*. *James* was not a Tyrant; his errours proceeding most part from youth and evil Counsel. That suppose the King had done them wrong, it was not wisely done, for a desire of revenge, to endanger their particular Estates, and the peace and standing of the whole Kingdome. What State was there ever so pure, but some corruption might creep into it? That they should be very cautious how they shook the frame of *Monarchical* Government too far; That they would accordingly resent and revenge it. Rage prevailing against Reason and fears, the Lords made that same answer to these Embassadours which they had sent to the King himself before. As for the *Popes* Embassy which was sent by *Adrian de Castello*, an *Italian* Legate was comming, and the Lords fearing the danger of it, for in those times it might have drawn the most part of all the Towns, and the Commons, for fear of Ecclesiastical Censures, to have adhered to the King, or stood in an indifferency, made all possible haste before it should have been delivered, to make head against their Soveraign, and decide their quarrel in a battel; *Urban* the fourth armed *Henry* the third King of *England* against all those that would not return to their due and old obedience to him, and all his disloyal subjects.

The King was in a strong Fort, and if he had remained still there, matters in a little time had faln forth more to his wishes; and his Enemies might have been brought to a submission: for his good Subjects of the North, as the *Forbesses*, *Oguilbuyes*, the *Graunts*, *Frazeres*, *Meldrums*, many of the *Gordounes*, *Keethes*, and others who adhered to him out of affection and duty, were advancing towards him. But whether misinformed or betrayed by some of his own, who made him believe that unless he could command the Countrey about *Edenburgh*, the Castle was of no such importance as was the Castle of *Sterlin* for him, in consideration of the passage over the River of *Forth* at a Bridge for those were coming to his aid: The Lords of the association counterfeiting a Retreit and dispersing themselves in the Countrey, that they might draw him from that hold, he rashly and unadvisedly issued out of the Castle and left his beloved Town of *Edenburgh*. The Earls of *Montross*, *Glencarn*, Lords *Maxwell* and

and *Ruthen* accompanyed him to the *Blackneſs*; his Forces here encreaſing he marched towards *Sterlin*, the Rendevous and deſtinated Place of meeting for all his loyal Subjects, there he diſplayed his Royal Standard. Here the perfidious Conſtable (an unparralleld example of ingratitude) who had betrayed the Son, in an hoſtile manner kept the Father out of his own Caſtle, Canons mounted, Piſtols cockt, and leveld at him, and expoſed him a prey to his Rebels, In the amazement and deliberation what to go about, being thus ſhut out of his Caſtle, Tidings came to him, that the Confederates were come neer to *Falkirk*, a little Town ſix miles eaſtward from *Sterlin*, that his Army ſhould not be diſcouraged by this unexſpected accident, truſting to his right and preſent Power; being more ſtout than prudent, he reſolveth to ſet all upon the hazard of a Battel. The Confederates had paſſed the *Carron*, a River under the *Falkirk*, and were encamped above the Bridge neer the *Torwood*: The King ſet forwards with his Army upon the other ſide of the *Torwood*, neer a ſmal brook named *Sawchy-Burn*. This field is a plain not far diſtant from that *Bannoch-burn*, where King *Robert* the *Bruce* overthrew the great Army of *Edward Carnarvan*. Here both Armies advance forward in Battail array.

The Lords rang'd their Hoſt in three Squadrons; the vantguard was led by the Lords *Hume* and *Hailles* and their friends conſiſting of eaſt *Lothian* and *Marſs-men*; The middle ward was compoſed of the *Liddeſdale*, *Annandale*, *Eweſdale*, *Tivotdale*, *Twededale*, *Galloway-Men*: the mayne battail was of weſt *Lothian-men*, where moſt of the Lords were, and amongſt whom the Prince was kept. In the Kings Army the Earle of *Monteeth*, Lords *Areſken*, *Graham*, *Ruthen*, *Maxwell* commanded the vanguard. The left wing which conſiſted of Weſtland and Highland men, was commited to the Earle *of Glencarn*. The Lords *Boyd*, *Lyndeſay*, the Earl of *Crawfoord* commanded in the Reer or great Battaill, amongſt whom was the King armd from head to foot upon a great Courſier, eaſie to be known and diſcern'd from the reſt. The firſt charge is valiantly given and Launce meeting with Launce, the vanguard of the Lords began to yield ground, and was ſtrongly repulſed. But the next charge being given by *Annandale* Men and the ranck Riders of the Borders, The middle ward of the Kings Army is beaten back to the mayn Battaill; Notwithſtanding of which it is fought a while with marvellous obſtination and great hardineſs and aſſurance, untill the ſtandard Royal was beaten downe, and thoſe who defended it were ſlain, the violence of the bickering being moſtly where it was planted. The Kings army now beginning to bow, nor being

sufficient to resist the numbers of fresh assailers, the Horsemen obeying no direction, turned their backs. In this rowt and confusion of horse and foot men, the King seeking to retire towards the River of *Forth*, where not far off som Boats and the Ships of Sir *Andrew Wood* attended the fortune of Battail, by the fall of his Horse, in leaping a Ditch, being sore bruised, was carryed by such who knew him not, to a Mill at *Bannoch-Burn*. The day was now the Confederates and wrong had prevailed against Right, when the Prince of *Rothsay* amazed at the noise and clamours of the flying and following Souldiers, and in suspition of the worst, gave out expres and strait Commandement with threatnings to the Disobeyers, that none should presume to pursue his Father, nor others in the chase. Notwithstanding which, he was followed and killed in a Mill in cold bloud. These who followed him were the Lord *Gray*, *Robert Sterlin* of *Keer*, Sir *Andrew Borthick* a Priest, whom fame reporteth after shiriving to have stobb'd him with a Dagger.

The Ensigns taken, the Army dissipated and put to flight, the Baggage rifled, the Death of the King being rumoured through the Armies, the Victors turned slow in the chase, and gave field-room to all that would fly, no severity being used against any found unarmd; for the Lords of the association pursu'd the King not the people. The discomfitted fled towards *Sterlin*; the victorious retir'd to their Camp, and the next morning to *Linlithgow*. On the Kings side *Alexander Cunningham* Earl of *Glencarn* was slain, and as some have recorded, the Lords *Aerskin*, *Simple*, *Ruthen*, *John Ramsay* of *Balmayn* created *Earl* of *Bothwell*, and his chief favourite, with their friends and Vassals: the Lard of *Inneys*, *Alexander Scot* Director of the Chancery, with some Noblemens Friends and Vassals: many were hurt who recovered of their wounds, and this Battail seem'd rather a brave encounter and meeting of Launces in some lists, than a Field of great deeds of arms, and the victory was obtained rather by disorder, and the rashness of the vanquished than by the valour of the victorious. This battel was fought the year 1488. the eleventh day of *June*, which is the festival of St. *Barnabas*, the 29. year of the Reign, and thirty five of the age of this King. He had issue *James* the fourth who succeeded, *Alexander* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, and *John Earl* of *Marr*: The Conspirators with all funeral Rites and and Royal Pomp, as in expiation of the wrongs they had done him living, neer his Queen in the Abby Church of *Cambuskynneth*, buryed his body.

This King concerning his personage was of a Stature somwhat higher than ordinary, well proportioned, his hair was black,

black, his visage was rather long than round, approaching in colour more to those in the Southern than Northern Climates. Concerning his conditions, He was a Prince of an haughty and towring Spirit, loved to govern alone, affecting an absolute Power and Royal Prerogative over his people. He knew that Noble-men were of his Predecessors making, as the coyn, and why he might not put his stamp upon the same mettal, or when these old Medails were defaced, that he might not refound them and give them a new print, he thought no sufficient reason could be given. His reign seemeth a Theater spred over with mourning and staind with bloud, where in a revolution many Tragedies were acted. Neither were the neighbour Kingdoms about in a calmer estate during his reign. *France* under *Lovys* the eleventh, *England* under *Henry* the *sixth*, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the Usurper, *Flanders* and *Holland* under *Charles* the War-like; *Arnold* Duke of *Guilders* was imprisoned by his own Son. As if the heavenly Influences were sometimes all together set to produce upon this Ball of the Earth nothing but conspiracies, treasons, troubles, and for the wickedness of the Inhabitants to deprive them of all rest, and contentment.

This King is by the most condemned, as a rash, imprudent dangerous Prince: good People make good Kings; when a people run directly to oppose the authority of their Soveraign, and assume Rebellion and arrogancy for obedience, resisting his fairest motions and most profitable commandments, if a King be martial, in a short time they are beaten and brought under. If he be politick, prudent and foreseeing in a longer time (as wild Dear) they are surprized, and either brought back to their first order and condition, or thrall'd to greater miseries. If he be weak and suffer in his Reputation or State or person by them, the Prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the Revenger of his wrongs. And all conspiracies of Subjects if they prosper not in a high degree, advance the Soveraignty: This Prince seemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been constrained to leave his natural inclination and necessitate to run upon Precipices and dangers: his turbulent Subjects never suffering him to have rest. Many Princes who in the beginning of their reigns have bin admired for their fair actions, by the ingratitude of their Subjects, have turn'd from one extremity to another, and become their rebellious Subjects executioners. He was provoked to do many things by the insolency of private men: and what some call tyranny and fierceness in a Prince, is but just severity. He sought to be feared, believing it to be the onely way to obedience. It is true, injuries took such deep impressions

sion in his mind, that no after service could blot them away. The taking away of his Favourites, made him study revenge, which if he had not done, he had to much of the *Stoical* virtues, little of the *Heroical*.

These who blame Princes, under a pure and absolute Monarchie for having favourites, would have them inhumane, base and contemptible, and would deprive them of power to confer favours according to the distinguishing power of their understanding and conceptions. The choise a Prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great imployments, is not subject to any mans censure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be pass'd over, if not approv'd; least the discretion and judgement of the Prince be questioned, and his Reputation wounded: Favourites are shrines to shadow Princes from their People. Why should a people not allow a Prince some to whom he may unmask himself, and discover the secrets of his Heart? If his secrets should be imparted to many, they would be no longer Secrets? Why should it be imposed on a Prince to love all his Subjects alike, since he is not beloved of them all alike? This is a desire to tyrannize over the affections of Princes, whom men should reverence.

He seemeth too much to have delighted in retiredness, and to have been a hater of business; nor that he troubled himself with any but for formalities sake, more desirous of quietnes than honour. This was the fault of the Governours of his youth, who put him off business of State, that they might the more easily reach their own ends, and by making him their shadow, govern after their pleasure; Of this delight in solitarines his Brothers took their advantage and wan the people to their observance.

He was much given to Buildings and trimming up of Chappels, Halls, and Gardens, as usually are the Lovers of Idleness: and the rarest frames of Churches and Pallaces in *Scotland* were mostly raised about his time. An humour which though it be allowable in men which have not much to do, yet is harmfull in Princes; As to be taken with admiration of Watches, Clocks, Dyals, Automates, Pictures, Statues. For the the art of Princes is to give Laws and govern their people with wisdom in peace, and glory in war; to spare the humble and prostrate the proud.

He is blam'd of Avarice, yet there is no great matters recorded of it, save the encroaching upon the dealing, and taking the giving to whom he pleased of Church Benefices; which if he had liv'd in our times, would have been held a virtue. He was of a credulous Disposition, and therefore easie to be abused, which hath moved some to record He was given to Divination and to inquire of future accidents: which if it be

be credible was the fault of those times. *Edward* the fourth of *England* is said to have had that same fault, & that by the misinterpretation of a prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretold that one, the first Letter of whose name was *G.* should usurp the Kingdom, and dispossess the children of King *Edward*, he took away his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*; which being really practised in *England*, some *Scottish* writers (that a King of *Scotland* should not be inferior, to any of his Neighbor Princes in wickednes) without ground shave recored the same to have bin don by this King, his love was great to learned men, he used as Counsellors in his important affairs *John Ireland* a Doctour of Divinity, and one of the *Sorbon* in *Paris*, made Arch-deacon of *St. Andrews*, Mr. *Robert Blackadore*, whom he promoted to be Bishop of *Glasgow*, Mr. *William Elphinstoun*, whom of an Official or Commissary of *Lothtán*, he surrogated in the place of Mr. *Robert Blackadore*, and made Bishop of *Aberdeen*; and his faults either in Religion or Policy may be attribuied to these and his other Counsellours.

Many have thought that the fatal Chariot of his Precipice was, that he had equally offended kindred, Clergy, Nobility and People. But suppose this had been true, why should such an horrible mischief have bin devised, as to arm his own Son against him? and that neither the fear of Divine justice, the respect of infamy with the present or after times, the danger of the example, had power to divert the minds of men from such a cruel Design! This was really to seeth the Kid in the Mothers milk, and to make an innocent youth obnoxious to the most hainous crime that could be committed. What ever courtains could be spred to overshadow and cover this mischief, the horrour of this fact possest this Prince to his last hour, and God out of his Justice executed the revenge of this cruelty upon the Nobles, Commons, and the Prince himself at the field of *Flowden*: where some of the chief Actors of this paricide were in their own persons, others in the persons of their Successors, sacrificed to the Ghost of this *King*.

THE

Iames. III. king of Scotts
Anō 1488.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE & REIGN OF Iames the fourth, King of *Scotland*.

THe Lords who had choſen rather to be reputed famous Rebells than contemn'd Subjects, by their boldneſs of enterprizing, ſkill of managing the publick affairs, and continued purchaſes, ſwelling to that greatneſs of power, that they found none to counterpoiſe, few to oppoſe to their Deſigns; To make their Rebellion lawful, and ſhow the world they intended not the ſubverſion of their Countrey, but of their opinionative King, nor that they did diſlike Soveraignity, ſo they might have a Prince who would be ruled by their directions, take the name, and leave to them the Majeſty and Authority of his Place: after the killing of the Father, call a Parliament

for the installing of the Son in the Royall Throne; few of the three Estates here meeting, except themselves, and the Commissioners of Burroughs, in the Moneth of *June* the year 1488. at *Edenburgh* the Prince is crowned, then having not attained the sixteenth year of his age. Though these men had assumed the Government, yet in divers parts of the Countrey they had but doubtful obedience, nor was their Authority universally acknowledged, the flames of dissention seeming yet neither to be extinquished, nor altogether smothered with the life of the late King. On the Sea Sir *Andrew Wood*, who had attended the event of the last Battel, maintained resolutely the Quarrel of his dead Master. Five tall Ships sent by the King of *England* to his Confederates aid (but which came too late) pretending a Revenge upon his disloyal Subjects, pillaged the maritime Towns, and forraged the adjacent parts of the Countrey, shut up the mouth of the River of *Forth*, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants. To repel which violence, the Ships gathered by the Lords struggled in vain, being every way inferiour and weak to suppress their incursions and Algarads. On the land the Forces of those who had stood out for the late King had rather been by the last conflict scatter'd, than throughly broken and brought under. The ablest and most convenient companies which were gatherd to his assistance, having never assembled and joind in one body, the fight being inconsideratly precipitated and the Dye thrown, before they could descend from the far Mountains, and cross the Foord-less Rivers; And of those who were in the Fray not many being taken prisoners, fewer killed, falling under the weight of friendly arms.

The prime Men of those who had chosen rather justly to follow the King, than profitably his Rebells, finding themselves, for their loyaltie, and that good will which they had carryed to their Soveraign, persecuted and proscrib'd in their Fortunes and Persons, inflamed with indignation and shame resolve to oppose wisdom to Fortune, courage to strength, and hazard some one day more for the repairing the losses of former: the Pillage begun upon the Seas by the *English* animating them. And being desirous to make as many fellows of their danger as they could, they send Letters thorough all the Quarters of the Kingdom to their Friends, Familiars and Confederates, encouraging them to ply the business generously, opposing their valour and courage to the strength and power of the abusers of the Prince. By publick writings they cast aspersions on the present Government. After that battail of *Sterlin*, and since the Coronation of the King they had not fallen in the power of a Monarch, but under an *Oligarchy*

lygarchy, the most depraved form of all Governments, the name and Title of a *King* a young man scarce sixteen years of age enjoyed, but he governed not, but was by the Killers of his Father misgoverned, who under false pretences intended the ruin of the State. *What reproach and shame would it be not onely with all men now living but also with Posterity to suffer these who had hazarded what they had dearest for the honour and preservation of their Prince, to be branded with the name of Traytors, be banished and followed to death. Whilst the Transgressors and Abusers of all Laws, divine and humane, sit Judges over them, as Revengers of general wrongs, usurping the Titles of Deliverers of the Countrey, and Restaurers of the Common-wealth, amongst whose pawes the present King could not be assured and safe. They being the men who to justifie their injustice, and make their fact meritorious, brought him in Arms, not knowing whither, against his King and Father, most wofully taken away: besides the abusing of his Name and Authority in every civil matter. The late King had lost the day and himself by his own errours, not by their power and designs. Now they should oppose to their proceedings, & though they might be esteemed inferiour in number to them, yet (if they met together) they might be found equal to them in worth and courage, being puft up by the last misfortune, and only putting their confidence in that they mastered their Designs.*

Much being projected and designed for their meeting in arms, in the North *Alexander* Lord *Forbes*, a Man born neither to rest himself, nor suffer others, in *Aberdeen*, and other Towns on the point of a Launce displayed the shirt of the slaughtered King purpled with his bloud, inviting the Countrey as by an Herauld to the revenge of his Murther. In the West the Earl of *Lennox*, a man eminent by his Birth and Fortunes hath the same resolution; the Earl of *Marshall*, Lords *Gordon* and *Lyle*, with their confederates in other parts of the Kingdom, where their power or eloquence could prevail, move all their Engins to advance the enterprize, and put every thing in readiness.

The Lords of the insurrection having the young King in their hands to countenance their proceedings, joining discretion to their good success, determine except upon necessity not to spill more civil blood. And to disperse the clouds of that appearing storm, they encourage Sir *Andrew Wood*, now received in favour and brought not onely to be no enemy, but to be their friend and fellow-helper (having obtained from them the Barony of *Largow*, disposed to him hereditarily of which before he had only a lease of the late King for his first service) with his Ships to clear the *Forth*, and scoure the Seas of the *English*. And they launch out to his assistance the Vessels and Boats of the Havens neer adja-

cent. At that same time *John* Lord *Drummond Stuart* of *Strathern*, a Nobleman, couragious and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the Earl of *Lennox*, stopt his ravaging and wasting the Countrey, and kept him back from joining with his Confederates of the *North*, and infesting the more civil parts: being the greatest, ablest and neareſt Man of that Faction. The Earl had raised many high-land and West-land men, recorded to be two thousand; but when he could not pass the River of *Forth* at the bridge of *Sterlin*, the Lords having invested the Town, he assayeth to pass amongst the Fens and Marishes at a Foord not far from the head of the River, where other his Confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilst he is encamped at *Tilly-moss*, far from all appearance or suspition of danger, the Lord *Drummond* by the advertisement of *Alexander Mackealp* (who had taken Arms with the Earl only to find out his waies) in the Night invadeth his Camp, the sentinels and these of the formost Guard seised upon, or killed, or driven back, they in the neereſt Cabines amazed with the suddain mischief, rise to arm themselves and think of fight, but finding the danger to be on all sides and thorough the whole Camp, neither seeing before them nor hearing any Directions given them for the great noise of the Invaders, it being impossible to put themselves in array, confusedly each overthrowing other take themselves to hopeless aud disordered flight. Sleep here to some is continued in death, many disburthening themselvs of their arms, seek sanctuary amongst the winding pathes of these Marshes. Others are taken, but by their acquaintance and friends suffered after to escape. Revenge is only followed against such who in malice had enterprized any thing against the present Government, and persevered in their attempts.

This defeit of the Earl of *Lennox* by the Lord *Drummond*, is seconded with the rumour of a Sea victory obtained by Sir *Andrew Wood* against *Steven Bull*, a man excelling in maritime affairs, who had come upon the Scottish seas to revenge the Quarrel of his Masters Ships not long before taken and spoyled by Sir *Andrew*. They had met neer the Island of the *May* at the mouth of the River of *Forth*, and arranging themselves for fight had been two daies by the waves and winds carryed along the coast of *Fife*, driven at last amongst the Mounts of Sand where the *Tay* looseth his name in the Sea, the *English* ships taler, and of a greater burthen than the *Scottish* by ignorance or negligence of their Mariners embanqued, and stuck moor'd upon the Shelves: and being forc't by necessity to render were brought as Prizes to *Dundee*: The rumour of these Victories spread abroad, so amaz'd the Companies raised in the North by the Lord *Forbess*, and

other

other his Confederates, that they, changing their opinions with the event of actions, gave over further profecution or deſire of war, and every Man retired to his own home. After which by indifferent friends having ſought a reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by Policy than by force) they were eaſily received in favour: amongſt which was the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Forbeſs.*

The Governours to ingratiate themſelves more with the people, by calming the preſent troubles, and uniting the divided members of the Common-wealth; that every man might have a publick aſſurance for the freedom of his Perſon and private eſtate and fortunes, call a Parlament, and it is held at *Edinburgh* in *February*, having the Law in their own hands, that the inſurrection might be thought juſt; here was it adjudged that thoſe who were ſlain in the field of *Sterlin* had fallen by their own deſervings, and juſtly ſuffered the puniſhment of their raſhneſs: that the Victors were innocently guiltleſs of the blood there ſhed, and fairly acquitted of any purſuit: The three eſtates teſtifying the ſame by their ſubſcriptions and Signets.

It was Ordained, *That they who came againſt the preſent King in aid of his Father, ſhould take remiſſions or pardons: and ſo many of them as were in hereditary Offices, as Wardens, Juſtices, Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillyes, Lieutenants, or in other publick Charges, ſhould be ſuſpended from them for the ſpace of three years, that ſuch who had offices for term of life, or for terms, ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed and denuded of them altogether.*

All which, though done under a colour of Puniſhment, was only to inveſt Places, and to turn ſome of themſelves rich by their ſpoils. The puniſhment of mean men challenged of theſe garboyls is either made little or paſſed over. All Donations howſoever made by Patent from the King or by Parliaments in prejudice of the Crown, beginning from the moneth of *September* before, till the day of his deceaſe are repelled and annihiled. All honours beſtowed on ſuch the late King ſought to obliege unto him were recalled. The Earl of *Crawford* was diveſted of his title of being Duke of *Montroſs*, as the L. of *Balmayn* was of his, of being Earl of *Bothwell.* Embaſſadours are directed to the *Emperour*, *Pope*, Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and other Princes, to renue the Leagues, antient Confederacies and Allyances, as in times paſt had been the cuſtome of the Kings of *Scotland* to their neighbour Princes, but eſpecially to take away the blame of their Kings ſlaughter from the Governours: and manifeſt to all the world the candor of their minds, and juſtice of their proceedings. For that ſome few *Engliſh* Ships had ſhut up the narrow Seas of *Scotland*, and interrupted the Com-

commerce of Merchants, pillaging the Coasts, Order was established for building of many Ships, and that every Seaport should be stored with them, as well to maintain traffick abroad with Strangers, as for fishing, and to be walls to the Countrey at home. In a matter so important, and near concerning the weal and standing of the State, the Barons were ordained to share and bear a part with the Merchants and Burroughs. And in so fair a project, to encourage his people, the King himself was content first to begin, and to build ships for his own and the publick service of the Kingdom. This being one of the greatest miseries of the late King that he suffered himself to be misgoverned by (as they term'd them) worthless men, some Prelates and Noble-men eniment in learning and virtue are selected who should still be resident with the King, and of his Council without the advice consent and decree of six of which if any matters of importance were proceeded on and concluded, they should be void and null: Governours are appointed to bring up his Brothers.

Now is every thing ordered to the best, Justice is executed on oppressours and Robbers, and in the remotest parts of the Kingdom, the King himself in person seeth it administred. He is of so contrary a temper to the humour of his Predecessors that he granted freely to every man what could be demanded in reason. To give a testimony to the world of the Agonie of his mind, for the Death of his Father, and what remorse and anguish he suffered for the faults of those who brought him to the Field against him, he girded himself with a chayn of Iron, to which every third year of his life thereafter he added some rings and weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the Complices of the Crime, yet either out of conscience of his gentle disposition and mild nature, and confidence in his generosity, or of the trust they had in their own power and Faction, they bewrayed no signs of fear, nor attempted ought against the common peace and tranquility, some records bear that they forewarned him by the example of his Father not to take any violent course against them, or which might irritate the people against him and every thing to embrace their counsels: and that finding him repining and stubborn, beyond mediocrity giving himself over to Sorrow and pensiveness, they threatned him with a Coronation of one of his Brothers, telling him it was in their power to make any of the race of his Predecessors their King: if he were Head-strong and refractory to oppose to their wholsom directions and grave Counsels.

Amidst this Grief of the King and overweening of his supercilious Governours *Andrew Forman* Secretary to *Alexander*

der the sixth *Bishop* of *Rome* arrived in *Scotland* with instructions for the Clergy, and Letters from his Master to the *King* and the *Nobles*.

The Kings were full of ordinary consolations to asswage his passions, and reduce his mind to a more calm temper for the accident of his Fathers death.

The most glorious victory a Prince could acquire, was sometimes to overcome himself, and triumph over his disordered passions. In all perturbations, to which we are subject, we should endeavour to practise that precept, No thing too much, *but chiefly in our passions of sorrow and wrath: which not being restrained overwhelm the greatest and most generous Minds, that by passion the fewest actions, and by reason the most do prosper.*

Though a King, he must not imagine himself exempt from things casual to all mankind, especially in Seditions and civil tumults: from which no kingdom nor State hath been free. There being no City which hath not sometimes wicked Citezens, and alwaies and ever an headstrong and mad multitude; he should take what had befaln him from the hand of his Maker, who chastiseth those he loveth. What comes from heaven he should bear necessarily, what proceedeth from Men couragiously; there was no man so safe, excellent and transcendent, who by an insolent Nobility and ravaging Populacy might not be compell'd to perpetrate many things against his heart and intentions.

The will being both the beginning and subject of all sin, and the consenting to and allowing the action being the only and main point to be considered and lookt into, of which he was free, the sin committed was not his, nor could the punishment which by the divine Justice might follow belong unto him.

Sith he had done nothing of himself, but as a bound man had been carryed away by mutinous Subjects: these that lead transgress, not alwaies they that follow. To these men remorse and torture of conscience belong'd, it was they should lament and mourn who under false pretences had abused the people, maskt their Ambition and malice with a reformation of errours in the State, whose rage could not be quencht but by the bloud of ther Soveraign. It was these should bewail their injustice and cruelty, the sin, shame and judgement, for so hainous a fact followed these men; He should not impute the wrongs and wickedness of others, by which he had been a sufferer with his disastered Father, to himself. Revenge belonged to the Almighty, to whose Tribunal he should submit his quarrel. He should not decree the worst against his mutinous Subjects, nor turn them desperate, as if there were no place to repent. Great offences, ordinarily were seldom punisht in a State, that it was profitable for a Prince sometime to put up voluntarily an injury, the way to be invincible was never to contend, and to stand out of danger was the benefit of peace, that he should apply soft

Medi-

Medicine where it was dangerous to use violent; That following his Maker he should endeavour to draw Good out of evil.

As he was for that disaster of his Father pitied by Men upon Earth, so assuredly he would be pardoned in Heaven. If his Subjects returned to their crooked Bias and did revolt again, he would make the danger his own, use his Ecclesiastical censures and spiritual power against them till they became obedient, and submitted themselves to the sway of his Scepter.

In the Letters to the Nobles he exhorted them to obedience.

Ambition was the cause of Sedition, which had no limits, and which was the bane and wrack of States & Kingdoms of which they should beware of; Kingdoms subsisting upon the reputation of a Prince, and that respect his Subjects carryed towards him. He was the Eye and Sun of Justice; the Prince weakned or taken away, or his authority contemned; the Common-wealth would not only fall into a Decadence, but suffer an Earth-quake and perish. Either after by Forrainers be invaded, or by intestine dissentions rent asunder. Confusions followed where obedience ceased and left: Contempt deposed Kings as well as death, and Kings are no longer Kings when their Subjects refuse to obey them.

That good people made good Kings, which he requested them to endeavour to be, as they would answer to God whose Lieutenants Princes were, and by whose power they ruled.

After, this time the Lord *Evaindale* being dead, the Earl of *Angus*, was made Chancelour, and the Lord *Hume*, obtained the place of great Chamberlain of *Scotland*, the Countrey enjoyed a great calm of peace, the grounds of dissention seeming to be taken away.

The King in the strength and vigour of his Youth, remembring that to live in Idleness was to live to be contemned by the world, by change of Objects to expell his present sadness and to enable himself for wars when they should burst forth, gave himself to recreations by Games, and with a decent Pomp entertained all Knightly exercises keeping an open and magnificent Court. When time and Exercise had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to some perfection in marital Sports, Tilting and Barriers proclaimed; Rewards propounded and promised to the Victors, Challenges are sent abroad unto Strangers either to be Umpiers or Actors of Feats of Arms.

Charles the eight the *French* King, having an Ambition to reannex, the Dutchy of *French Bretaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by arms or the Marriage of *Anne* the apparent heir, under the pretext and shadow of those painted Justings, sendeth to *Scotland* some of the bravest Gentlemen of his Court, desiring privily the assistance of King *James* against

gainſt the *Engliſh*, if it ſhould fall forth that the King of *England* troubled his Deſigns.

Not long after well and honorably accompanied arriveth in *Scotland* a young man naming himſelf *Richard* Duke of *York* ſon to *Edward* the fourth, true Inheritour of the Crown of *England*, divers Neighbor Princes teſtifying the ſame by the Letters, which contained,

That Edward *the eldeſt ſon of* Edward *the fourth who ſucceeded his Father in the Crown, by the Name of* Edward *the fifth, was murthered by* Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter *their unnatural Uncle; but* Richard *the younger Son his* Brother, *by the Man who was employed to execute that Tragedy (making report to the Tyrant that he had performed his command for both Brethren) was ſaved, and with ſpeed and ſecrecy convoyed to* Tourney, *there conceal'd and brought up by his Fathers Siſter* Margarite *Dutchaſs of* Burgundy; *Nhat King* James *ſhould acknowledge this for Truth, and friendly aſſiſt this young Man, who was that very* Richard *Duke of* York, *to recover his inheritance, now moſt unjuſtly uſurped and Poſſeſſed by* Henry Tuder *Earl of* Richmond; *That the right of Kings extended not onely to the ſafe preſervation of their own, but alſo to the aid of all ſuch Allies, as change of time and State hath often hurled down from Crowns to undergo an exerciſe of ſufference in both fortunes: and Kings ſhould repoſſeſs Kings wrongfully put from their own. As his Predeceſſors to whoſe royal vertues he was heir, had repoſſeſſed* Henry *the ſixth King of* England, *ſpoiled of his Kingdom and diſtreſſed, by which Charity obliging all virtuous Princes unto him, he ſhould find ever as his own,* Maximilian *of* Bohemia, Charles *of* France, *and* Margarite *Dutcheſs* Dowager *of* Burgundy.

King *James* graciouſly receiving this young man, told him *That whatſoever he were, he ſhould not repent him of putting himſelf into his hands*, and from that time forth, though many gave Informations againſt him as a Counterfeit, entertained him every way as a Prince, embraced his quarrel, and ſeiling both his own eyes, and the eyes of the world, he gave conſent that this Duke ſhould take to wife Lady *Katherine Gordoun* daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, which ſome thought he did to increaſe the Factions of *Perkins* in *England*, ſtir the diſcontented Subjects againſt King *Henry*, and to encourage his own Subjects to ſide on his quarrel.

Not long after in perſon with this Duke of *York* in his Company, who aſſured him of powerful aſſiſtance, he entered with an Army into *Northumberland*, but not one Man comming to ſide with them, the King turned his enterprize into a Road, and after he had ſpoiled the Countrey returned into *Scotland*. It is ſaid that *Perkin* acting the part of a Prince handſomely, where he ſaw the Scots pillaging and

wasting of the Countrey came to the King, and in a deploring manner requested him to spare his afflicted people, that no Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his people: whereunto King *Iames* answered he was ridiculously careful of an interest another man possessed, and which perhaps was none of his. The King of *England* who delighted more to draw treasure from his people than to hazard the spilling of their blood, to revenge the predatory war of the *Scots*, and find out *Perkin*, requireth a subsidy of his Subjects: and though few believed he would follow so far a flying Hart, he was levying a puissant Army.

No sooner this Subsidy began to be collected amongst the *Cornish*-men when they began to grudge and murmur, and afterwards rebelled; which when it was understood of the King, he retained the forces raised, for his own service and use. In the mean time dispatching the Earl of *Surrey* to the *North* to attend the *Scots* incursions, whilst the *Cornish-men* are in their March towards *London*, King *James* again entered the Frontiers of *England* with an Army and besieged the Castle of *Norham* in person. But understanding the Earl of *Surrey* was advancing with greater forces, loaden with spoil he returned back again; the Earl of *Surrey* finding no Enemy, sat down before the Castle of *Aytoun*, which he took, and soon after returned into *England*; the cold season of the year, with the unseasonableness of the weather driving away time, invited a Treaty of Peace on both sides.

Amidst these turmoyls and unprofitable incursions of the two Kingdoms, *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* of *Spain* sent one *Peter Hialas* to treat a marriage between *Katherine* one of their Daughters, and *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*. This allyance being agreed upon, and almost brought to perfection, King *Henry* desirous of quietness, and to have an end of all Debates, especially these with *Scotland*, communicateth his intentions to *Hialas* a man wise and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in such a service: for it stood not with his Reputation to sue unto his enemy for Peace.

But *Hialas* a stranger unto both, as having Direction from his Master for the Peace of Christian and Neighbor Princes, might take upon him this reconciliation.

Hialas accepteth the Embassage, and comming to King *James*, after he had brought him to hearken to more safe and quiet Counsels, wrote unto King *Henry*, *That he hoped that Peace might easily be concluded, if he would send some wise and temperate Counsellour of his own, that might treat of the Conditions.*

Where-

Whereupon the King directeth the Bishop of *Duresm*, *Richard Fox*, who at that time was at his Castle of *Norham*, to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with some Commissioners deputed from King *James*. The Commissioners of both sides meet at *Jedbrough*, and dispute many articles and conditions of Peace. Restitution of the spoils taken by the *Scotish*, or dammages for the same is desired: but that was passed as a matter impossible to be performed. An enterview in person at *Newcastle* is desired of both Kings: which being referred to King *James* his own arbitrement, he is reported to have answered that he meant to treat a Peace, and not go a begging for it.

The breaking of the Peace for *Perkin Warbeck* is highly aggravated by the Bishop, and he demanded to be deliver'd to the King of *England*; *That a Prince should not easily believe with the common people, that* Perkin *was a fiction, and such an one that if a Poet had projected the figure, it could not have been done more to admiration, than the house of* York *by the old Dutchess of* Burgundy, *Sister to* Edward *the fourth, having first raised* Lambert Simnel, *and at last this* Perkin, *to personate Kings and seduce the people. His birth, education, not residence in any one Place proved him a Pageant King, that he was a reproach to all Kings, and a person not protected by the Law of Nations.*

The Bishop of *Glasgow* answered for his Master, *That the love and Amity grounded upon a Common cause and universal conclusion amongst Kings to defend one another, was the main foundation upon which King* James *had adventured to assist* Edward *Duke of* York; *that he was no competent Judge of his title; he had received him as a Suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his Kinswoman, and aided him with Arms upon the belief that he was a Prince; that the People of* Ireland, Wales, *and many in* England *acknowledged him no less than their King, whether he were so or not; sith for a Prince he had hitherto defended him, he could not leave him upon the Relation of his most terrible Enemy and the present Possessour of his Crown. That no Prince was bound to render a Subject to another who had come to him for Sanctuary, less a Prince who had recourse unto him for aid and Supply, and was now allyed with the antient blood of the Countrey.*

Much being said at last they conclude upon a truce for some moneths following.

After this treaty of Peace the Counterfeit Duke of *York*, with his Lady, and such Followers as would not leave him, sailed over into *Ireland*.

This Truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward accident went neer to have been given up and broken.

There were certain *Scottish* young men came into *Norham* Town, and having little to do went sometimes forth and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle observing them, and having not their Minds purged of the late ill-humour of Hostility, either suspected them or quarrel'd with them as spyes, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded of either side, and the *Scots* (being strangers in the Town) had the worst. Insomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made hast home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marshes of both sides, and no good order taken, King *James* took it to himself, and sent *Marchmond* Herauld to the King of *England* to make protestation, *That if reparation were not done according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce war.* The King of *England* (who had often tryed fortune, and was enclined to Peace) made answer, *That what had been done was utterly against his will, and without his privity; But if the Garrison Souldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and the Truce in all points to be preserved.* This answer pleased not King *James*. Bishop *Fox* understanding his discontent, being troubled that the occasion of breaking the Truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the King of *Scotland* to appease him. Whereupon King *Iames* molified by the Bishops submiss and discreet Letters, wrote back again unto him, *That though he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfyed except he spake with himself, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms.* The Bishop advising first with his Master, took his journey to *Scotland*: the meeting was at the Abby of *Melrose* where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered unto the Bishop his offence conceived for the breach of the Truce by his Men at *Norham* Castle, after speaking with him a part, he told him, *That these temporarie Truces, and Peace were soon made and soon broken: but that he desired a straiter Amity with the* King *of* England, *discovering his Mind, that if the* King *would give him in Marriage the Lady Margarite his eldest Daughter, That indeed might be a knot indissolvable; That he knew well what Place and Power the Bishop deservedly had with his Master; therefore if he would take the busines to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would well succeed.*

The Bishop answered soberly, *That he thought himself rather happy than worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour.* Wherefore the Bishop of *Durham* returning from *Scotland* to his King at *London*, and giving

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count what had passed, and finding his King more than well disposed in it, gave the King first advice to proceed to a conclusion of Peace, and then go on with the Treaty of Marriage by degrees; hereupon a Peace was concluded to continue for both the Kings lives, and to the overliver of them one year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, *That no English man should enter into* Scotland, *nor no Scotch man into* England, *without Letters Commendatory from the king of either Nations.*

During this Treaty of the Marriage it is reported that the King of *England* referred this matter to his Council, and that some of the Table in freedom of Counsellours (the King being present) had put the case, *That Issues Males and Females failing of the race of his two Sons, that then the Kingdome of* England *would fall to the King of* Scotland, *which might prejudice the Monarchy of* England. Whereunto the King himself replyed, *That if any such event should be,* Scotland *would be but an accession to* England, *and not* England *to* Scotland, *for that the greater would draw the less, and that it was a safer union for* England *than that of* France.

Shortly after, the espousals of *Iames* King of *Scotland* with Lady *Margarite* the King of *Englands* eldest Daughter followed: which were done by Proxie in all solemn manner. The Assurance and contract was published at *Pauls Cross* the 25. of *Ianuary* at *London*, in applause of which Hymns were publickly sung in the Churches, and Bonfires with great feasting and banqueting set throughout all the City.

Iulius the second in the beginning of this Treaty did gratifie King *Iames* with a Sword and Diadem wrought with flowers of Gold (which the Popes on Christmas even used to consecrate, a custome first brought in by *Sixtus Quartus*) which were presented to him at *Holy-Rood-House*; the marriage was in *August* following consummate at *Edenbrough*, King *Henry* bringing his Daughter as far as *Colliveston* on the way: where his Mother the Countess of *Richmond* aboade; and then resigning her to the attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland* who with a great Train of Lords and Ladies of Honour brought her into *Scotland* to the King her Husband, solemn daies were kept at Court for banquetting, Masks and Revelling, Barriers and Tilting proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the Name of the Savage Knight (who was the King himself) Rewards designed to the Victors. Old King *Arthur* with his Knights of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Lists. The fame of this Mariage had drawn many Forreign Gentlemen to the Court. Amongst others came Monsieur *Darcie*, naming himself *Le Sieur de la Beautie*, who tryed Barriers with the Lord *Hamilton*, after they had til-

tilted with grinding Spears. Some of the Savage Knights Company (who were robust high-land men) he giving way unto them, smarted really in these feigned Conflicts, with Targets and two-handed Swords to the Musick of their *Bagpipes*, fighting as in a true battel, to the admiration of the *English* and *French*, who had never seen men so ambitious of wounds and prodigal of blood in sport. All were magnificently entertain'd by the King, and with honourable Largesses and Rewards of their Valour, licensed to return Home.

During the Treaty of this Marriage with *England*, a Monster of a new and strange shape was born in *Scotland* near the City of *Glasgow*, the body of which under the waste or middle varied nothing from the common shape and proportion of the bodies of other men, the members both for use and comlinesse being two, their faces looking one way; sitting they seemed two men to such who saw not the parts beneath, and standing it could not be discerned to which of the two Bulks above the thighs and legs did appertain. They had differing passions, and diverse wills, often chiding others for disorder in their behaviour and actions: after much deliberation embracing that unto which they both consented. By the *Kings* direction they were carefully brought up, and instructed in *Musick* and *Foreign Languages*. This Monster lived twenty and eight years, and dyed when *Iohn* Duke of *Albany* Governed. *Claud Gruget* maketh mention of the like Monster born in *Paris* before the marriage of *Henry* the fourth the *French King* with *Margarite* of *Valois*, but the birth and death of it were neer together.

The *King* by his great Liberality unto Strangers abroad, and his lavish spending at home, for religious Places were founded, Castles repaired, Ships builded (three of an extraordinary greatnes) finding himself needy of Treasure to support the dayly expences at Court, engaged to many and sunck deep in debt; and that Subsidies he could not levy except by the Suffrages of his Parliament, by whose power they were imposed and rated, setteth the most learned Counsellors at Law, and men experienced in foreign Policy to find out new means and waies to acquire and gather him monies by Laws already made and Ordained, which was in effect to pole the people by executing the rigour of Justice, the Fortunes of wise men arising often on the expences of Fools, after the example of King *Henry* the seventh of *England*, his Father-in-law, who taking the advantage of the breach of his penal Statutes gave power to Sir *Richard Empson* and *Edmond Dudley* by Informers and Promoters to oppress and ruin the estates of many of his best Subjects, whom *King Henry* the

the eight to satisfy his wronged people, after his decease caused execute. Old customes are by these men pryed into, and forgotten absolet Statutes quickned.

Amongst the titles of possessing of Lands in *Scotland* there is one, which in process of time of an ungodly custom grew strong and is kept for a Law, being fetched by imitation from the Lawes of the neighbouring States; That if the possessour of Lands dy, and leave a Minor to succeed to him his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the profit of the Lands until the Minor be of the age of one and twenty years. This is of those lands which are termed Wards. The King cauleth bring up his Wards, but bestoweth no more of their Rents upon them than is useful to such of that age. By another Law they have not any thing better than this, which they call *Recognition*, that if the evidences of any possessour of Ward-lands be not in all points formal, and above exceptions of Law, the lands (the possessours put from them) shall return to the Lord Superiour: and like to this, That if a Possessour of Ward Lands without the consent of the Superiour, sell and put away the half, or above the half of his land and Farm, the whole land and Farm returneth to the Superiour or Lord Paramount. They have lands held with clauses which they call irritant, that if two terms of a few duty run unpaid into the third, the Land falleth unto the Superiour. When those lawes and other like them by reason of the Neighbour incursions and troubles with *England*, and the civil broyls at home had been long out of use amongst the Subjects, and the execution of them as it were in a manner forgot, these Projectors and new *Tol-masters* the king giving way to enrich his Exchequer, awakned them. Many of the *S*ubjects by these inquiries were obnoxious to the king and smarted, but most the most honest, who were constrained either to buy their own lands and inheritance from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give some portion of them to those Caterpillars of the State. The King was so dearly beloved of his people, that in the height of those Grievances (which reached near the exorbitant avarice of his Father) none refused or made difficultie to give all that the laws ordained. The King seeing their willingness to perform, and knowing their great disability thereunto, out of his singular Grace and Goodness remitteth not onely the rigour, but even the equity almost of his lawes, insomuch that thereafter none of his Subjects were damnified in their persons or estates by his proceedings: which gain'd him the hearts of all: And to put away all suspitions and jealousies from their minds (an Ordinary practice amongst Princes) acts that fill Princes coffers ever being the ruin of their first Projectors,

of

of any wrong intended, He suffered the Promoters and Projectors of this polling, with others of the most active to be thrown into Prisons, where some miserably ended their daies.

The year 1507. *James* Prince of *Scotland* and *Isles* was born at *Holy-rood-House*, the 21. of *January*: the Queen in her throwes of birth, being brought neer the last agony of death, the King (overcome with affection and religious vows) taketh a Pilgrimage for her recovery on foot to Saint *Ninians* in *Galloway*; a place in those credulous times famous for the burial of St. *Ninian* the Apostle of the *Britains*, and notorious by the many Processions and Visits of the neighbour Countreys of *Ireland* and *England*; at his return he findeth his Queen recovered, the child after dyed at *Sterlin*, with the Bishop of *Galloway*, who was appointed to attend him. The year following the Queen brought forth another son named *Arthur* at *Holy-rood-House*, but he died also in the Castle of *Edenburgh*: and *Henry* the seventh his Grandfather accompanyed him to the other world. King *James* to the Coronation of the young King his Brother-in-law sendeth Embassadours.

After the death of his two Sons, and his Father-in-Law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own mortality (whether he had a resolute intention so to do, or that for reasons known to himself, he would have it so appear) he giveth out, That out of remorse for bearing arms in the Field where his Father was slain, he had a resolution to leave his kingdom and visit the holy Sepulchre. Then to prepare his way *Robert Blacka-Towre* Abbot of *Dumfermling* is directed; but the Abbot in his journey is arrested by death, and the King findeth other hinderances to keep him at Home.

Amidst these deliberations his Queen is delivered in the Pallace of *Linlithgow* of her third Son, in the Moneth of *April* 1512. who succeeded to the Crown, and was named *James*.

About this same time *Bernard Stuart* that famous Warrior under *Charls* the eight of *France*, who commanded the *French* in *Bosworth Field*, came to *Scotland*, followed by *Andrew Forman* then Arch-Bishop of *Burges*, and Bishop of *Murray*, with *Alexander Stuart* the *Kings* natural son, after promoted to be Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*. The cause which was given out to the rumours of the people of their comming, was, That the *French* King having no male children, crav'd the advice and counsel of the King of *Scotland* his Confederate, concerning the marriage of his Eldest Daughter: whether he should bestow her upon *Francis* of *Valois*, the *Daulphine*

and

and Duke of *Angulesm*, or upon *Charles* King of *Castile*, who had presented her with many tokens of affection, and by his Embassadours earnestly sought her from her Brother. But their great errand was to divide the King from his Brother-in-law King *Henry*, and make him assist *Lovys*: these two Potentates intending a war against other.

Anne Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretaign* after the death of her Sister *Isabella* remained sole heir of that Dutchy, her wardship falling to the *French* King *Charles* the eight; He terrified so her Subjects, guided her kinred, and the principal persons about her, that making void the pretended marriage of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, which was by Proxie, she was married unto him. Notwithstanding he had the Daughter of *Maximilian* at his Court, with great expectation of a mariage to be celebrate with her. After the death of *King Charles*, *Lovys* the twelf having marryed *Jane* the Sister of *Charles* and Daughter to *Lovys* the eleventh, by his many favours bestowed upon *Pope Alexander* the sixth, and his Son *Cesar Borgia*, obtaineth a Brief of Divorce against her, by the power of which (her weakness for the bearing of Children (the necessary upholders of a Crown) by his Physicians being proved) he had married *Anne* of *Bretaign*, for he would not loose so fair a Dowry for the blustering rumour of Malecontents, which in a little time would grow stale and vanish. *Pope Alexander* dead, *Julius* the second, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent Prelate, and a stout defender of Church-Patrimony, suspitious of the power of the *French* in *Italy*, and that they would not rest content with the kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan*, but one day hazard for all; fearing also they would, because they might, put him out of his Chair, and substitute in his Room their Cardinal of *Amboise*, or some other of their own, began to study novations and means to send the *French* back to their own Countrey, his ordinary discourse being that he would one day make *Italy* free from *Barbarians*. He requireth King *Lovys* to give over the protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of *Annibal Bentivoglio* whom he had thrust out of *Bulloign*. The King refusing to forsake Confederates, the Pope betaketh him to his spiritual Arms, and threatneth with Excommunication the Duke and all who came to his aid and support, especially the *French*; they decline his Sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful General Council, with which they threaten him. *Henry* the eight then in the fervour of his youth, amidst a great Treasure left by his Father, and by more than ordinary bands of love and friendship tyed to the *Pope*, (as having dispensed with the marying his Brothers widdow) interposeth himself as an Indifferent

Mediator and Interceſſor for Peace between the two parties, but in effect was the chief maintainer of the Quarrel, effecting nothing becauſe he would not. Conditions being refuſed by *King Henry*, he eſſayeth draw the *French* arms from the Popes territories by cutting them work neerer home, and bringing a neceſſity upon them to defend their own. Upon this determination he deſireth king *Lovys* to reſtore and render to him his Dutchies *Guyenne* and *Normandy* with his antient inheritance of *Anjow* and *Mayne*, and the other old Poſſeſſions of the *Engliſh* in *France*, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his Anceſtors. The war of *Italy* by theſe threatnings was not left of: for the Pope conming to *Bollogn* with intention to invade *Ferrara*, is beſieged with his Cardinals, and he ſendeth Declarations to the Chriſtian Princes, proteſting the *French* not only thirſted after the Patrimony and Inheritance of S. *Peter*, but even after Chriſtian blood. Mean while he abſolveth the Subjects of *King Lovys* from their oath of Allegiance, abandoneth his kingdom to any can poſſeſs it; at a Council at *Lateran* he diſpatched a Bull wherein the title of moſt Chriſtian *King* is transferred upon *Henry* king of *England*, who to his former titles of *France* having now the approbation of the Pope, and the kingdom interdicted, prepareth an expedition in perſon. After which with five thouſand barded Horſes, fourty thouſand Foot, comming in *Picardie* he encampeth before *Therovenne*, a Town upon the Marches of *Picardie*: Here the Emperour *Maximiliam*, reſenting yet his old injury, entreth into the *King* of *Englands* pay, and weareth the croſs of *Saint George*: *But ſo long as he ſtaied in the Army, it was governed according to his counſel and direction.*

King *Iames* before his meeting with *Bernard Stuart* and Biſhop *Forman*, was fully purpoſed to prove an indifferent beholder of this War: but *Bernard* having corrupted the Courtiers, and the Biſhop the chief Church-man of the kingdom, after their long and earneſt interceſſion he was drawn altogether to affect and adhere to the *French*.

To throw the apple of Diſſention, *Biſhop Forman* is ſent to king *Henry* to demand certain Jewels by their Fathers will, or her Brothers Prince *Arthurs*; appertaining to Queen *Margarite* his Siſter.

King Henry miſtruſting that Embaſſy, offereth all and more than they demand from him. Shortly after the *Engliſh* beginning to interrupt the traffick of the *French* by Sea, king *Iames* will ſend his Ships, lately well mann'd and equipp'd for fight, which not long before had been prepared (as was given out) to tranſport the *king* into *Syria* to his Coſin Queen *Ann*, ſuppoſing this Gift would rather ſeem a *Pledge* of friendſhip

ſhip and alliance to the Engliſh than any Supply of Warre. But *James* Earl of *Arrain* having got the command of them, inſtead of ſailing towards *France*, arriveth in *Ireland*, whether by tempeſt of weather, or that he would diſturb the Kings proceedings in aſſiſting the *French*, inſtigated and corrupted by *King Henry*, it is uncertain: and after he had ſpoild *Knock-Fergus* a maritime village, returneth with them to the Town of *Ayre*.

The King taking in an evil part the invaſion of *Ireland*, but more the lingring of the Earl, for he had received Letters from Queen *Anne* and Biſhop *Forman*, regretting the long and vain expectation of his Ships, giveth the Earl of *Anguſs*, and Sir *Andrew Wood* a Commiſſion for both him and them. The Earl of *Arrain* by his Friends at Court, underſtanding his Maſters diſpleaſure, ere they could find him, hoiſeth up Sails, and committeth himſelf rather to the uncertain fortune of the Seas, than the juſt wrath of a King. After great Tempeſt arriving in *French Bretaign*, theſe Ships built at ſuch extraordinary Charges, Sayls and Cordage being taken from them, rotted and conſumed by weather, in the Haven of *Breſt*.

Now matters grew more exaſperate between the Brother Kings; *Robert Car* Warden of the Borders is killed by three *Engliſh*, *Hieron*, *Lilburn*, *Struthers*. *Andrew Barton*, who upon an old quarrel begun in the reign of King *James* the third, had purchaſed Letters of Repriſal againſt the *Portingals*, by *Thomas Howard* the *Engliſh* Admiral is ſlain, and his Ships taken. To this laſt Grievance (when it was expoſtulated) *King Henry* is ſaid to have anſwered, *That truce amongſt Princes was never broken for taking or killing of Pyrates.*

Alexander Lord *Hume* Warden of the Eaſt Marches in *Revenge* of accumulated injuries with three thouſand men invadeth the *Engliſh* Borders, burneth ſome *Villages*, and *forrageth* the Fields about. But having divided his forces, and ſent a part of them loaden with ſpoils towards *Scotland*, he falleth in an ambuſh of the *Engliſh*: where Sir *William Bulmure* with a thouſand Archers put him to flight, and took his Brother *George*. During theſe border incurſions, the Lord *Dacres* and Doctor *Weſt* came as in an Embaſſy from *England*, not ſo much for eſtabliſhing a Peace, and ſettling thoſe tumults, begun by the meeting of Commiſſioners (who aſſembled and concluded nothing) as to give their Maſter certain and true Intelligence of the *Proceedings* of the *Scots* with the *French*, and what they attempted.

Monſieur *de la Motte* was come with Letters from the *French* to ſtir *King James* to take arms againſt the *Engliſh*, and had in his voyage drowned three *Engliſh* Ships, bringing ſeven

with him as Prizes to the Harbour of *Leyth*. *Robert Bartoun* in revenge of *Andrew Bartouns* death, at that same time returned with thirteen Vessels all Prizes. King *Lovys* had sent a great ship loaden with Artillery, Powder and Wines; in whicd Mr. *Iames Oguylbuy* Abbot of *Drybrough* arrived, with earnest request for the renuing of the antient *League* between *France* and *Scotland*, and Letters froom Queen *Anne* for the invasion of *England*. In which she regretted he had not one Friend nor maintainer of his Honour at the Court of *France* (after the late delay of the sending his Ships) except her self and her Ladies: that her request was, He would for her sake whom he had honoured with the name of his Mistress in his Martial sports in time of peace, march but one mile upon the *English* bounds, now in time of an appearing war against her Lord and Countrey.

The *King* thinking himself already engaged and interested in his fame, drawn away by the promises, eloquence, and other perswasions of the *French*, assembleth the three Estates of his Kingdom to deliberate about a war with *England*. Many oppose it, but in vain; for at last for fear of the Kings displeasure it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worse Counsel or event. But before any hostility against the *English* they determine and decree that *King Henry* shall by an Herauld be fairly advertised and desired to desist from any further invasion of the Territories of the *French* King, or Duke of *Guilders* (who was General of the *French* Army) the King of *Scotlands* Confederates and Kinsemen: which not being yielded unto, the Warre as lawfull and just shall be denounced.

Henry the eight then besieging *Therovenne*, answered the Herauld who delivered his Commission: That he heard no thing from him, but what he had expected from a King a Despiser of Gods and Mans Law; for himself, he would not give over a War so happily began for any threats. Neither did he care much for that Mans friendship, of whose unconstancy he had so often had experience, nor for the power of his Kingdom and ambitious poverty.

After this answer of the King of *England*, A Declaration by the King of *Scotland* was published almost to this sense.

Though Princes should direct their Actions more to conscience than Fame, and are not bound to give an account of them to any but to God alone, and when Armies are prepared for Battel, they look not so much to what may be said, as to what ought to be done; the Victors being ever thought to have had reason upon their side, and the justest cause: yet to manifest our sincerity, and the uprightness of our proceedings, as well to these present times as to po-

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sterity, who may hereafter enquire after our deportments, that all may take a full view of our intentions and courses, we have been mov'd to lay down the justness and equity of our Arms before the Tribunal of the World.

The Laws of Nations and of Nature, which are grounded upon the Reason by which Man is distinguished from other Creatures, oblige every one to defend himself; and to seek means for ones own preservation is a thing unblamable; but the Laws of Soveraignty lay greater Obligations upon us, and above all men Monarchs and they to whom God hath given the Governments of States and Kingdomes, are not only bound to maintain and defend their own Kingdomes, Estates and Persons, but to relieve from unjust Oppression, so far as is in their power, being required, their Friends, Neighbours and Confederates, and not to suffer the weak to be overthrown by the stronger. The many Innovations and troubles raised upon all sides about us, the wrongs our Subjects have suffered, by the insolencies and arrogancy of the Counsellors of Henry King of England our Brother-in-Law, are not onely known to our Neighbour, but blazed amongst remotest Countreys. Roads and Incursions have been made upon our Borders; Sundry of our Leiges have been taken, and as in a just warr, turned Prisoners; the Warden of our Marches under Assurance hath been miserably kelled; our Merchants at Sea invaded, spoiled of their goods, liberties, lives: above others, the chief Captain of our Ships put to Death, and all by the kings own Commission; upon which breaches between the two kingdomes, disorders and manifest wrongs committed upon our Subjects, when by our Embassadours we had divers times required satisfaction and Reparation, we received no justice or answer worthy of him or us, our Complaints being rejected, and we disdainfully contemned, that longer to suffer such Insolencies, and not by just force to resist unjust violence, and by dangers to seek a remedy against greater or more imminent dangers; Not to stand to the defence of our Lieges, and take upon us their protection, were to invite others to offer the like affronts and injuries to us hereafter.

Besides these Breaches of Duty, Outrages, Wrongs done unto us, his Brother Henry king of England without any just cause or violence offered to him or any of his by the king of France, hath levyed a mighty Army against him, invaded his Territories, using all hostility: Continuing to assault and force his Towns, make his Subjects Prisoners, kill and ransom them, impose Subsidies, and lift moneys from the quieter sort, which wrongs, dammage and injustice we cannot but repute done unto us in respect of our earnest intercessions unto him and many requests rejected, and that antient League between the two kingdomes of France and Scotland, in which these two Nations are obliged respectively, and mutually bound to assist others against all Invaders whatsoever; that the

Enemy

Enemy of the one shall be the Enemy of the other, and the Friends of the one the Friends of the other. As all motions tend unto rest, the end of a just war being Peace, that our Brother (who hath no such Enemy as the too great Riches and abundance in which he swimmeth) may entertain Peace with his Brother Princes, and moderate that boundless ambition, which maketh him usurp Dominion over his equals; we have been compelled to take us to defensive arms; for our Brother hath now declared himself, and vaunteth that he is sole Judge and Umpire of the Peace of Europe, *and that from his will, the differences of Successions and Titles of Principalities, wrongs and other interests depend, as that all should be obsequious to his authority; and what particular Authority can be more intolerable, than that he should hinder so great and just a Prince as the King of* France *to claim his own and defend his Subjects?*

If our Brother the king of England *by the supply and assistance of many neighbour Countreys, now by the Provocation of the Bishop of* Rome, *arising upon all sides against the* French, *should extend his Power and Victory over* France (*under what colour and pretence of Justice so ever*) *to what an extremity shall the kingdom of* Scotland *be reduced, having so powerful and ambitious a* Neighbour? *Fear of any neighbour Princes Greatness, when it extendeth it self over adjaecent Territories, is a Good cause of Defence and taking of Armes, which cannot be but just, sith most necessary.*

We are not ignorant that here will be objected against us, The breach of a League contracted between our Brother and us: We have not broken that League; but for great Causes and Reasons separate our selves from it, our Brother having taken away the means, occasions, reasons, were had to observe it. In all Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promises amongst Princes, the last Confederation is ever understood to be contracted without prejudice to the Rights of any former Alliances: and when our Embassadours made that League with our Brother, it was to be understood that it should hold no longer, nor we longer be bound unto it than he should keep to our first Allies and antient Confederates, not breaking their Peace, nor troubling the Government and Estates of their Countreys. A National League is ever to be preferred before any personal, an antient to a new; the Leagues between the kingdomes of France *and* Scotland *having continued many ages, should justly be preferr'd to that which we as a new Ally of the house of* England *did contract, which yet we are most willing to keep: but the love of our Countrey passing all private respects hath mov'd us to separate our selves for a time from it.*

All Leagues, Confederations, Alliances, Promises amongst Princes are respectively and mutually understood, with this condition and Law, providing both keep upon either side; the one party breaking

breaking or departing from the League, Allyance or Promise, the other is no longer bound to keep nor adhere unto it. So long as the King of England *kept unto us, we kept unto Him: He now having many waies broken to us, we are no longer obliged to keep to him; That same oath which obliged and tyed us, after his breach absolving and making us free; and of this we divers times advertised him, giving him assurance, except we would betray that Trust and confidence our Subjects and Confederates had in us for the maintenance of their peace and safety, we could not but assist them in their just cause (howsoever the justest actions have not ever the mrst profitable events) and be constrained to have a recouse to arms for a remedy of their present misery.*

And now notwithstanding of our advanced Expedition, and preparations for war, that the world may judge rightly of our intentions, We declare and manifest that if our brother shall leave off the Invasion of our Confederates, use no more hostility against them, and give satisfaction for the wrongs done unto our Subjects, that we shall disband our forces: and are content that all matters of difference aswel between the King of France, *and our brother, as our brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and taken away. As that not only a Truce and Cessation of their Miserie for a time, but a perfect and lasting Peace be concluded and established, to the full contentment, and lasting happiness of the three kingdoms and our posterity.*

Whilest the King staied at *Linlithgow* attending the gathering of his Army, now ready to set forward, and full of cares and perplexity, in the Church of St. *Michael* heard Evensong (as then it was called) while he was at his Devotion, an antient Man came in, his amber coloured locks hanging down upon his Shoulders, his fore-head high and enclining to baldness, his Garment of azure colour, somewhat long girded about him with a Towel or Table Napkin, of a comely and reverend aspect. Having enquired for the King, he intruded himself into the prease, passing thorow till he came to him, with a clowniſh simplicity, leaning over the Canons Seat where the King sate, Sir (said he) I am sent hither to intreat you for this time to delay your expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended journey: for if you do, ye shall not prosper in your enterprize, nor any of your followers. I am farther charged to warn you, if ye be so refractory as to go forward, not to use the acquaintance, company or counsel of Women, as ye tender your honour, life and estate.

After this warning he withdrew himself back again into the prease; when service was ended, the King enquired earnestly, for him, but he could no where be found, neither could

could any of the Standers by (of whom diverse did narrowly observe him, meaning afterwards to have discoursed further with him) feel or perceive how, when, or where he passed from them: having as it were vanished in their hands.

After his Army had mustered in the Borrow-moor of *Edenburgh* (a field then spacious and delightful by the shades of many stately and aged Oaks) about the midst of the Night there is a Proclamation heard at the Market Cross of the Town, summoning a great many Burgesses, Gentlemen, Barons, Noblemen to appear within fourty daies before the Tribunal of one *Plot-Cock*; the Provost of the Town in his Timber Gallery having heard his own Name cited, cried out that he declined that Judicatory and appeal'd to the mercy of God almighty.

Nothing was the King moved with those advertisements, thinking them Scenick pieces acted by those who hated the *French* and favoured the *English* faction: being so boldly and to the life personated that they appalled and stroke with fear ordinary and vulgar judgements, as Trage-Comedies of Spirits. The Earl of *Angus* diswaded him from that expedition, and many of the most reverend Church-men, but the Angel which most conjured him was *Margarite* his Queen who at that time was with child; her tears and prayers shook the strongest beams of his Resolutions. She had acquainted him with the Visions and affrightments of her sleep; that her Chains and Armelets appeared to be turned into Pearls; she had seen him fall from a great Precipice; She had lost one of her eyes. When he had answered these were but Dreams, arising from the many thoughts and cares of the Day, but it is no Dream (saith she) that ye have but one Son, and him a a weakling; if otherwaies than well happen unto you, what a lamentable day will that be, when ye shall leave behind you, to so tender and weak a Successour, under the Government of a woman, for inheritance, a miserable and bloody war? It is no dream that ye are to fight a mighty people; now turned insolent by their riches at home and power abroad: that your Nobilitie are indigent ye know, and may be brib'd to leave you in your greatest danger. What a folly, what a blindness is it to make this war yours, and to quench the fire in your Neighbours house of *France*, to kindle and burn up your own in *Scotland*? ye have no such reason to assist the *French*, as ye have to keep your promises to *England*, and enjoy a Peace at home. Though the *English* should make a conquest of *France*, will they take your Crown, or disinherit their own race, this is even as the left hand would cut off the right? Should the Letters of the Queen of *France*, (a

woman

woman twice married (the first half in Adultery, the last almost Incest) whom ye did never nor shall ever see) prove more powerful with you, than the cryes of your little Son, and mine, than the tears, complaints, curses of the Orphans and Widdows which ye are to make? If ye will go, suffer me to accompany you; it may be my Countrey-men prove more kind towards me than they will to you; and for my sake yield unto a Peace. I hear the Queen my Sister will be with the Army in her husbands absence; if we shall meet, who knowes what God by our means may bring to pass.

The King answered all her complaints with a speedy march which he made over the *Tweed*: not staying till the whole forces came to him, which were arising and prepared.

The twenty two of *August* comming into *England* he encamped neer the water of *Twisel* in *Northumberland*, where at *Twisel-haugh* he made an Act, that if any man were slain or hurt to death by the *English*, during the time of his aboade in *England*, his heirs should have his Ward, Relief and mariage. *Norham*, *Wark*, *Foord*, *Eatel*, are taken and cast down. Amidst this hostility the Lady *Foord* (a noble Captive) was brought in a pitty-pleading manner, with her daughter (a Maid of excellent beauty) to the Camp. Not without the Earl of *Surreys* direction, as many supposed, for they have a vigorous Prince and his Son (though natural by the gifts of Nature and Education above many lawful) to try the Magick of their eloquence and beauty upon. The King delighting in their Company, not only hearkeneth to the discourse of the Mother, but giveth way to her counsel: which was, if she should be dismissed, to send him true and certain intelligence of what the *English* would attempt, taking her way to their Camp: but in effect proved the winning of time to the Earl of *Surrey*, and the losing of occasion to him. Her few daies stay bred in him a kind of carlesnesse, sloath, procastination and delay, a neglect, and as it were a forgetfulness of his Army and business: eighten daies staying in *England*, in a Territory not very fertile, had consum'd much provision, the Souldiers began to want necessaries, a number in the night by blind pathes returned to their own Countrey. In a short time only the Noblemen and their Vassals attended the King. These request him not to spend more time on that barren Soyl, but to turn their Forces against *Berwick*, which Town was of more importance, than all the Hamlets and poor Villages of *Northumberland*, neither was it impregnable or difficile to be taken, the Town and Castle being no waies provided and furnished to endure a siege. The Courtiours move the King to continue the beleaguering of *Berwick* till their comming back: which would

be an easie conquest *Northumberland* once forrag'd, in absence of the bravest of the *English* then in *France*.

Whilest the Army languished, and the King spent time at *Foord*, the Earl of *Surrey* directeth an Herauld to his Camp, requiring him either to leave off the invasion of his Masters Countrey, and turn back giving satisfaction for wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a day and place wherein all differences might be ended by the Sword. This Challenge being advised in Counsel, most voices were that they should return home, and not with so small number as remained endanger the State of the whole Kingdom, enough being already atchieved for fame, and too much for their friendship with *France*; why should a few Souldiers, and these already tired out by forcing of Strengths, throwing down Castles, be hazarded against such multitudes of the *English*, supplyed lately and encreased with fresh Auxiliaries? *Thomas Howard* Admiral, a Son of the Earl of *Surrey*, having newly brought with him to *New Castle* out of the Army lying in *France* five thousand men, and one thousand tall Sea men. If they should return Home, the *English* Army could not but disband, and not conveniently this year be gathered again, consisting of men levied from far and distant Places. Again if they should be engaged to come to a Battail; their own Countrey, being fields to them well known, would prove more commodious and secure to fight upon than *English* ground, besides the opportunity of furnishing and providing the Camp with all necessaries at less charges. The *French* Embassadour and others of his faction remonstrate to the King, what a shameful retreit he would make, if at the desire of the Enemy he returned, and without the hazard of a Battel, being so neer unto him; that by fighting in *England*, he kept his own Couutrey unforraged; and consum'd the Provision of his Enemy which at last would weaken his forces: That for contentment to both Armies, *Islay* a *Scottish* Herauld should return with *Rouge-Cross* the *English*, and condescend upon a day, promising them the mean time tarrying and aboad till the righteousness of the cause were decided in a Battel.

The set and appointed Day by the Heraulds in which the two Armies should have joined being come and the *English* not appearing, nor any from them: The Nobility again resort to the King; show how by the slight of the Enemy matters were prolonged from one day to another: the *English* forces daily encreasing, whilst the *Scottish* wear away and waxed fewer: that slight should be opposed to slight; the day designed by the Heraulds not being kept, it would be no reproach to them to turn home without battel, or if retiring,

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to fight upon their own ground. If this counsel pleased him not, but that he would there give them battel, The next was to study all advantages for victory, either by stratagem, or the odds and furtherance of the Place of fight; Where the *Chiviot* hills decline towards the plainer fields arising behind them with high tops with best Ordnance should be fortified; the water of *Till* running deep and foord-less upon the right hand, and but passable at the Bridge, the first Companies of the enemy being passed, before they could be relieved and succoured by their followers, the Bridge by the Artilery should be beaten down, and the enemy charged when they began to pass the Water.

The King, impatient of Counsel, answered, though their number encreased to as many more as they were, he with that remainder of his Army would fight them. That advantages were to be imbraced according to the occasion of the fight without tedious deliberation, if any man was afraid he might if he pleased return Home. A strange Resolution in a Prince, who imagined every man in his Army to have the same strength, courage, boldness and resolution with himself.

This answer astonished the Nobility, and since they could not perswade him to a fair retreat, but that he will fight and that without the advantage of the Bridge, being inferiour in number to the *English* (for they were reckoned by the Scouts six and twenty thousand) they fortify themselves according to the Commoditie of the Hill where they lay encamped with a resolution not to suffer the King to hazard his person in the battel. If victory should incline to them, their Gains were but smal and Glory less, extending but over some few of the Nobility, and a small parcel of the Body of the State of *England*, a number of yeomen, and pressed Horsemen, the flower of the Kingdom being in *France*. But if they were overthrown, their loss would prove uncõparable, yea unspekable, a martial yong *King* either kil'd, taken or put to flight; wherfore they think it fitting, not necessary, the King be pleased with so many as either chance or election might separate with him, to be a Spectator of the fortune of the day. To this the King replyed, he neither wanted ability to discharge the part of a Souldier, nor wisdom to command as a General, and to outlive so many valiant Countrey-men would be more terrible to him than death it self. When forced to give way for his personall presence in the field; they appoint some to be arraied in like furniture of Arms and a like Guard as the King; Shadows to personate him in sundry quarters of the field, that the enemy should not set one man as their chief mark to

invade, from whose death the victory and conclusion of the war might depend: and if the King should fall, the Army should not lose courage, nor be brought to believe he were lost, so long as they saw a General with his Coignoscance and Guard present and neer them to be a witness of their valour and atchievements, as not long before at the battel of *Fornou* in *Italy* had been practiced by the *French* to their King *Charles* the eight.

By this time the Earl of *Surrey* with the power of the *North* of *England*, was come within three miles of the Place where the *Scottish* Army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great disadvantage fight them; he sendeth an Herauld requiring the King to come forth of his strength to some indifferent ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The King being forward to condescend to this request, the Lords cryed out, it was madness to accept of opportunity of fighting from his Enemies, and to set all at a main chance according to their appointment, it being their advantage to prolong time, and trifle with him, in whose Camp there was already scarcity of victuals, which ere long might put him to such a stand, that he should not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he could be furnished from the inner parts of the Countrey, by reason of the cumbersom waies for carriage to pass, after the falling of so great and continued rains, and the softning of the Ground; that by sitting still, and committing nothing to Fortune, he might have his enemy at his pleasure; if they dared assail him at their perils be it. He lacked nothing but patience to be victorious.

The *Scots* keeping their Trenches, the earl essayeth to draw them out, and the ninth of *September* removing his Camp marcheth towards the same Hill of *Flowden* where they lay encamped; his Vant-guard with the Cannon passeth the water of *Till* at *Twysel* bridge, the Reer-ward going over at *Mylnfoord*. King *James* seeing them pass the water imagineth they meant to win a Hill between his Camp and them; To prevent which (setting fire to the Cabanes raised of boughs of Trees and Reeds) he removeth to another Hill, before the *English* could observe his motion, the smoak darkning the aire between the two Armies. Whilst the *Scottish* Army was removing the *English* advance to the foot of *Flowden* hill, by which they have double advantage, the *Scottish* ordinance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards and under the level thereof, again by their shot they might easily gall their enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal hour of the Battel approaching the *English* draw up in good order six and twenty thousand men (some write thir-

thirty) in two Battails any of which was equall in number to the whole *Scottiſh* Army. *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Admirall had the Vant-guard, of which Sir *Edmond Howard* his Brother led one of the wings, and Sir *Marmuduke Conſtable* the other; The Lords *Dacres* and *Cliffoord*, with Sir *Edward Stanley* kept the Rear: the Earl of *Surrey* with *Latymer Scroop*, Sir *Stephen Bull* kept the main Battail. The *Scots* by their fewneſs of number not being able to order many Battailons, marſhal themſelves in four, three of which ſhould enter in fight and the fourth attend for ſupply. The King kept the middle or main; *Alexander Gordoun* Earl of *Huntley* had the right wing of the Van; the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs* led the other, and ſome have recorded the Lord *Hume*: The third Army was guided by *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Arguyl*, where was *Mackenney* and *Mackclean*, with the fierceneſs of the High-landers. *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* with his Friends and the flower of the Gentry of *Lothian*, kept off for ſuddain diſpatches and chances of the Battel.

The Earl of *Huntley* making down the Hill where they encampt neer the foot of *Branx Town*, encountreth that Wing of the *Engliſh* Hoſt which was led by Sir *Edmond Howard*, which after a furious and long fight he put to flight, and ſo eagerly purſued the advantage, that Sir *Edmond* had either been killed or taken, if he had not been reſcued by Baſtard *Hieron* and the Lord *Dacres*, the Battaillon which the Earls *Lennox* and *Arguyl* led (being High-land men) encouraged with this firſt glance of victory, looſing their Ranks, abandoning all order (for ought that the *French* Ambaſſadour *La Motte* by ſigns, threatnings, clamours, could do to them) brake furiouſly upon the enemy, and invade him in the Face, of whom they are not onely valiantly received, but by Sir *Edward Stanleys* traverſing the Hill, encloſed, cut down at their backs and proſtate. The Middle ward which the King led, with which now the Earl of *Bothwell* with the power of *Lothian* was joined, fought it out couragiouſly body againſt body, and Sword to Sword. Numbers upon either ſide falling till darkneſs, and the black ſhadows of the Night, forced as it were, by conſent of both, a Retreit: Neither of them underſtanding the fortune of the day, and unto whom victory appertained.

Many brave *Scots* did here fall, eſteemed to above five thouſand, of the nobleſt and worthieſt Families of the kingdom: who chooſed rather to dy than out-live their friends and Compatriots.

The Kings natural Son *Alexander* Arch-Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, the Biſhop of the *Iſles*, the Abbots of *Inchjefray* and

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Kill-Winny, The Earls of *Crawfoord*, *Mortoun*, *Arguyl*, *Lennox*, *Arrel*, *Cathneſs*, *Bothwel*, *Athol*; the Lords *Elphinſtoun*, *Aerskin*, *Forbes*, *Roſs*, *Lovet*, *Saintclare*, *Maxwell*, with his three Brothers, *Simple*, *Borthick*; Numbers of Gentlemen, *Balgowny*, *Blacka-Towre*, *Borchard*, Sir *Alexander Seatoun*, *Makenny*, with *Macklean*, *George* Maſter of *Anguſs*, and Sir *William Dowglaſs* of *Glenbervy*, with ſome two hundred Gentlemen of their name and Vaſſals were here ſlain.

The *Engliſh* left few leſs upon the place, but moſt part of them being of the common ſort of Souldiers, and men of no great mark, compared with ſo many Nobles killed, and a King loſt, the number was not eſteemed nor the loſs thought any thing of.

The Companies of the Lord *Hume* had reſerved themſelvs all the time of the fight, keeping their firſt order, and when by the Earl of *Huntley*, he was required to relieve the Battallion where the King fought, he is ſaid to have anſwered, That that man did well that day who ſtood and ſaved himſelf. After the retreat his Followers gathered a great bootie of the ſpoils of the ſlaughtered. This fight began *Sept.* 9. about four of the clock after Noon, and continued three houres the year 1513.

About the dawning of the next Morning the Lord *Dacres*, with his Horſe-Troops taking a view of the Field, and ſeeing the brazen Ordnance of the *Scots* not tranſported, vvith moſt part of the ſaln bodies not rifled, ſendeth ſpeedy advertiſement to the *Howards* and the penſive Army: inviting all to the ſetting up of Trophees, Spoil, and tranſporting of their great Ordnance to *Berwick*, amongſt which were ſeven Culverins of like ſize and making, called the *Seven Siſters*.

Divers diverſly report of the Fortune of the King; We without affirming any thing for certain, ſhall onely ſet down what Fame hath publiſhed, a falſe Witneſs often of human accidents, and which many times by malignant brains is forged, and by more malignant ears received and believed. The *Engliſh* hold that he was killed in this Battail; the *Scots* that many in like Arms with the like Guards, were killed, every one of which was held for the King: Amongſt others *Alexander* Lord *Elphinſtoun* his Favourite, who had marryed *Elizabeth Barley* one of the Dames of Honour of Queen *Margarite*;

He was a man not unlike to the King in face and ſtature, and repreſenting him in arms in the field, with the valianteſt and moſt couragious of the Army fought it out, and acting heroically his part, as a King was killed, heaps of ſlaughtered bodies environing his. In the ſearch where the fight was,

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the number, taleneſs, furniture of the dead bodies being obſerved, their faces and wounds viewed, his body, as if it breathed yet majeſty, was amidſt the others ſelected, acknowledged for his Maiſters, brought to *Berwick* and embalmed. That it was not the body of the King, the girdle of Iron which he ever wore, and then was not found about him, gave ſome, though not certain, teſtimony.

Some have recorded that the fortune of the day inclining to the *Engliſh*, four tall men mounted upon luſty Horſes, wearing upon the points of their Launces, for coignoſcances, Streamers of Straw, mounting the King on a Sorrel Hackney, convoyed him far from the place of fight, and that he was ſeen beyond the *Tweed*, between *Kelſo* and *Dunce*. After which what became of him was uncertain. Many hold he was killed in the Caſtle of *Hume*, either by the intelligence between the *Engliſh* and the Lord *Humes* kinred, or out of fear (for they were at the ſlaughter of the Kings Father and the moſt violent in that fight) or of hopes of great fortunes, which would follow innovations, and the confuſion of the State, being men who liv'd beſt in a troubl'd Common wealth and upon the Borders.

One *Carr* a follower of the Lord *Humes*, that ſame night the Battail was fought, thruſt the Abbot of *Kelſo* out of his Abbacy: which he never durſt attempt the King being alive. Another, *David Carbreath* in the time of *John* the Governour vaunted that however *John* wronged the *Humes*, he was one of ſix who had abated the inſolency of King *James*, and brought him to know he was a Mortal. To theſe is added, that the Governour *John*, not long hereafter, cut off the heads of the Lord *Hume*, and his Brother without any known great cauſe. The Common people (ever more addicted to ſuperſtition than verity) believed he was living, and had paſſed over the Seas, and according to his promiſe viſited the holy Sepulchre in *Paleſtine*. There for his other offences and the bearing of Arms againſt his Father, in prayers and Pennance he ſpent the remainder of His tedious daies.

That he would return again when he found opportunity, and the neceſſity of *Europe* requird him. This report was of as great truth, as that which the *Burgundians* have of the Return of their Duke *Charles* after the Battel of *Nancy*, moſt of them believing he eſcaped from the conflict. He was loſt the twenty and five year of his Reign, the thirty and ninth of his age the ninth of *September* 1513.

This King was of a vigorous body, his ſtature being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleaſant countenance, of a pregnant wit; but by the faults of the times in which he lived, not poliſhed with Letters. He excelled in horſe-manſhip

ſhip, fencing and ſhooting. By much watching, ſlender diet, and uſe, he was enabled to endure all extremities of weather, ſcarcity or want of reſt, with good health of body.

He was juſt in giving judgement, in puniſhing malefactors ſevere, yet tractable and moderate. With the peril of ſome few he reſtrained vices and rather ſhook the Sword than ſtruck with it. He knew there were ſome things, though Princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was eaſie of acceſs, moſt courteous in ſpeech, and meek in anſwering every man. He was ſo far from being over taken with anger or other violent perturbations, that he was never obſerved to have given an evil or diſobliging word to any, or that the colour of his face changed by any offence offered him, or informations given him, relying without paſſion upon his own magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal diſpoſition, far from any oſtentation. As he underſtood well the Art of giving, ſo to acquire and purchaſe he was not ſufficient of himſelf, but made uſe of men who drew more hatred upon their own heads, than moneys into their Princes coffers.

Though he delighted more in War than the Arts, he was a great admirer and advancer of learned men. *William Elphinſtoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* builded by his Liberality the College of *Aberdeen*, and named it The Kings College, by reaſon of thoſe Privileges and Rents the King beſtowed upon it.

His Generoſity did ſhew it ſelf in not delivering of *Perkin Warbeck*; he truſted much, and had great confidence in his Nobility, and governed by love not by fear his people.

It is no wonder amidſt ſo much worth, that ſome humane frailty, and ſome according diſcord be found. There is no day ſo bright and fair, which one moment or other looketh not pale, and remaineth not with ſome dampiſh ſhadow of diſcoloured Clouds. He was ſomwhat wedded to his own humours, opiniative and raſh; *Actions of raſhneſs and timerity, even although they may have an happy event, being never praiſe worthy in a Prince. He was ſo infected with that illuſtrious crime which the Ambitious take for virtue, deſire of Fame, that he preferred it to his own life, and the peace of his Subjects.*

He ſo affected popularity, and endeavoured to purchaſe the love of his people, by Largeſſes, Banquetting, and other Magnificence, diving in debt, that by thoſe Subſidies and exceſſive exactions which of neceſſity he ſhould have been conſtrained to have levied and ſqueized from the people, longer life had made him loſe all that favor and love he had ſo painfully purchaſed, that death ſeemed to have come to him wiſhedly and in good time.

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The wedding of others Quarrels, especially of the *French*, seemeth in him inexcusable; a wise Prince should be slow and loath to engage himself in a war, although he hath sufferred some wrong. He should consider that of all humane actions and hazards, there is not one of which the precipitation is so dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a war. Neither in humane affairs should there more depths be sounded nor hidden passages searched and pryed into than in this. He should remember that besides the sad necessity which is inseparable from the most innocent war (the wasting and destroying of the goods and lives of much people) there is nothing of which the Revolutions and Changes are more inconstant, and the conclusions and ends more uncertain.

The Sea is not more treacherous, false and deceiving, nor changeth not more swiftly her calms into storms than wars and the fortune of arms do, the event and success belying the beginning. It is not enough that a Prince know a war which he undertaketh to be just, but he should consider also if it be necessary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the State which he governeth.

As men of strong and healthful bodies follow ordinarily delight in their youth, he was amourously carryed away. He confined the Earl of *Anguss* in the Isle of *Arran*, for taking *Jane Kennedy* a Daughter of the Earl of *Cassilles* out of *Galloway*, a fair and noble Lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his pilgrimage to *St. Ninians*. In his last expedition the Lady *Foord* was thought to have hindered the progress of his arms, and hasten'd the success of the battel.

Though virtue be sometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high esteem in the memories of men: such a desire remained of him in the hearts of his people after his loss, that the like was not of any King before him; Princes who are out of this life being onely the Delights and Darlings of a people. *Anne* the *French* Queen not many dayes out-lived the rumour of his death. He serves for an example of the frailty of great men on the Theatre of this world, and of the inconstancy of all Sub-Lunary things.

He had children, *James* and *Arthur* who dyed Infants, *James* who succeeded him, *Alexander* born after his death who dyed young; *Alexander* a natural son, Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, so much admired and courted by *Erasmus*; *Margarite* of a Daughter of the Lord *Drummonds*, maried to the Earl of *Huntley*, whose mother had been contracted to the King, and taken away (to his great regret) by those who governed the State, that he should not follow the example of King *Robert* his Predecessour, who maryed a Lady of that Family; *James* Earl of *Murray*.

Iames V King of Scotes
Año. 1514

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE & REIGN OF Iames the Fift, King of *Scotland.*

THe fatal accident and over throw of the *King*, and Flower of the Nobility of *Scotland* at *Flowden* filled the remnant of the State with great ſorrow, but with greater amazement and perplexity: for by this great change they expected no leſs than the progreſs and advancement of the Victors Arms and Fortune, and feared the conqueſt, ſervitude and deſolation of the whole Kingdom. The rigorous ſeaſon of the year being ſpent in mourning and performing of laſt duties to the dead for their loſt kinſmen and friends; and the gathering together the floating Ribbs and diſperſed plancks of this Ship-wrack, the Peers aſſembled at *Sterlin*, where being, applying themſelves

ſelves to ſet their confuons in order, and determine on the Remedies of their preſent evils, the lively pourtraict of their Calamities did repreſent it ſelf to the full view. The head and faireſt parts which Majeſty, Authority, Direction, Wiſdom had made eminent, were cut away, ſome turbulent Church-men, Orphan Noblemen, and timorous Citizens, fill their vacant places: and many who needed directions themſelves, were placed to direct and guide the Helm of State; ſuch miſeries being alwaies incident to a people, where the Father of the Countrey is taken away, and the Succeſſor is of under age. In this Maze of perplexity to diſoblige themſelves of their greateſt duty, and give ſatisfaction to the moſt and beſt, the lawful Succeſſour and Heir *JAMES* the Prince is ſet on the Throne and Crowned, being at that time one year five moneths and ten daies of age, and the hundreth and fifth King of *Scotland*. The Laſt Will and Teſtament which the late King had left before his expedition, being publickly ſeen and approved, the Queen challenges the Protection of the Realm and Tutelage of her Son, as diſpoſed unto her ſo long as ſhe continued a Widdow and followed the Counſel and adviſe of the Chancellour of the Realm, and ſome other grave Counſellours, and ſhe obtained it: as well out of a Religion they had to fulfill the will of their deceaſed Soveraign, as to ſhun and be freed of the imminent arms and imminent danger of her Brother the King of *England*. Being eſtabliſhed in the Government, and having from all that reſpect, reverence and obſervance which belong to ſuch a Princeſs, ſhe ſent Letters to the King of *England*; that having compaſſion upon the tears and prayers of a Widdow, of his Siſter, of an Orphan, of his Nephew, he would not only ceaſe from following the Warre upon *Scotland* (then at war with it ſelf and many waies divided) but ennobled by courage and goodneſs, be a defence unto her and the infant her Son againſt all injuries to be offered them by Forrainers abroad, or any of the factious Nobility, who would oppoſe themſelves againſt her at home. To which King *Henry* anſwered, That with the Peaceable he would entertain Peace, and with the froward and turbulent war; if the *Scots* would live in Peace they ſhould have it for his part, but if they would rather fight, he was not to refuſe them. That he huſband had faln by his own indiſcreet raſhneſs, and fooliſh kindneſs to *France*, that he regretted his death as his Ally, and ſhould be willing to prohibite all hoſtility againſt the Countrey of *Scotland* during the minority of her Son, for a remedy of preſent evils, one years Truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leaſure to proſecute his deſigns againſt *France*, without fear

ſear of being diſturbed or diverted by the incurſions and inroads of the *Scots* upon his borders.

The Government of a woman and a child over a people ever in motion, mutinous and delighting in Changes, could not long ſubſiſt firm, nor continue after one faſhion. The firſt ſhake and diſorders of the Kingdom aroſe, and was occaſioned by the ambition and avarice of the Church-men (the Moth-worms of State) being ſeconded by the factious Nobles and Male-contents; and it was the diſtribution of the Offices, Places, Benefices, vacant by the deaths of thoſe ſlain in the late Battel. *Andrew Forman* Arch-Biſhop of *Burges*, Biſhop of *Murray*, and Legate to the Pope *Julius*, *Gaven Dowglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, Uncle to the Earl of *Anguſs*; *John Hepburn* Priour of *St. Andrews*, contend all three for the Archbiſhoprick of *St. Andrews*. *Gaven Dowglaſs* was preſented to it by the Queen, *Andrew Forman* by the Pope, *John Hepburn* was choſen by the Chapter his Canons; and ſundry of the Nobility favoured his election, they ſaid alſo the place whilſt it was vacant belonged unto him: and his Party was ſo ſtrong that none dared publiſh the Popes Bull in favour of *Andrew Forman* for many daies. Till *Alexander* Lord *Hume* then Chamberlain and Warden of the Eaſt Marches, won by many promiſes, and the Abbacy of *Coldingham* engaged and preſently given in hand to his younger Brother *David*, in deſpight of the oppoſition of the Lord *Haylles* and the faction of the *Hepburns*, then ſeditious and powerful, well backed by his Friends, Vaſſals, Adherents all in Arms, cauſed publiſh and proclaim it at the Market croſs of *Edinburgh*, which action firſt incenſed the Priour to plot miſchief againſt the family of the *Humes*. *William Elphinſtoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* by many of the Clergy and ſome of the Nobility had been deſired to accept this Dignity, but he refuſed it, being now weary of earthly greatneſs, and making for another world, for at this time at *Edinburgh* he left this.

As ordinarily when one faction is neer extinguiſhed, the remnant ſubdivideth, after theſe jars of the Church men, which were cheriſhed by the Nobility, the Nobles began to jar among themſelves, and grudge at others preferments. *Alexander* Lord *Gordon* ruled and commanded the Countreys north-ward the River of *Forth*, as *Alexander* Lord *Hume* uſurped almoſt a royal Authority, and commanded over the Countreys on South-ſide of the *Forth*, the Earl of *Anguſs* went about a fairer conqueſt.

James Earl of *Arran* Lord *Hamiltown* being neereſt in blood to the King, could not but with indignation look upon the undeſerved greatneſs of theſe Uſurpers, under the ſhadow of this *Olygarchy*, turbulent, evill diſpoſed, and men abhorring

horring quietness ravaged the Countrey and did what they pleased.

Amidst these confusions the Queen in *April* brought forth the posthumous child in the Castle of *Sterlin*, whom the Bishop of *Cathness*, Abbot of *Dumfermlin*, and the Arch-Dean of *St. Andrews* baptized and named *Alexander*. After she was recovered and had required her wonted strength of body, she found the authority of her place was turned weak, and that she enjoyed nothing but the name of Governing, the people delighting to live rather without rule and in all disorders than to be subject to the obedience of a Woman though a Queen. After great deliberation and many essays in vain to curb their insolency and vindicate her authority from their contempt, as also to save her son from the dangers of an insulting Nobility, and settle her estate, she resolved to match with some Nobleman eminent in power and worth, who could and would protect her and hers in greatest extremities. Amongst the choise of the young Noblemen of *Scotland* for a long succession of renowned Aunce stors, comelyness of person, noble conversation, prudence in affairs of State, being lovely, courteous, liberal wise, none was comparable to the Earl of *Angus*; him she determines to make Partner of her Royal Bed and Fortunes; and as ordinarily in matters of love it falleth out, by the impatience of delay, without acquainting her Brother the King of *England*, or the Nobles of the Kingdom with her design, she afterwards marryeth him, transferring, if she could, the whole weight of the Kingdom and the rains of the Government of the State into his hands, having no more freedom in her own determinations.

No sooner was this revealed to the World, when the Nobility and Gentry divided into two Factions, one adhering to the *Dowglass*, in whom kindred, friendship long observance had bred hopes of benefit and preferment; another of such whom envy of his greatness and advancement had made hungrey of change. The first would have the Government continued in the Queens person and Her husbands: because hereby the Realm should still have peace with *England*, which at that time was the most necessary point to be respected. The adverse party, of which the Lord Chamberlain was the principal, who was a man both in Power, Parentage, Riches equal, if not beyond, to many of the great men of the Countrey, importuned the election of a new Governour and Protectour of the young King. The Queen loosing by her marriage both the tutelage of her Son and the Government, should not take it to heart that another were chosen and put in her place.

Her

Her marrying the Earl of *Anguſs* had made him too great already to be a Subject; the continuing of her in Authority would promote him to the greatneſs of a Prince. Who ſhould be Governour, is upon both ſides long and coutentiouſly argued. Many gave their voices for the Earl of *Arran*, as being neer in blood to the King, and a man affecting peace more than others, and every way ſufficient for ſuch a Charge. The Chamberlain had determined of another, and told it was a wrong to bar from ſo high an honour a man of the Maſculine line in blood to the King, and prefer one of the feminine. *John* Duke of *Albany*, ſon to *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, the Brother of King *James* the third, before all others by all reaſon ſhould be preferred to the Government. Being demanded if he would the firſt, to give example to others, ſet his hand to this election, he without pawſing performed it, with a proteſtation, that though the reſt of the Nobility oppoſed it, as to his comming into *Scotland* to accept the Government, he alone would go to *France*, charge him with it, be his Convoy hither, and maintain his Title.

This he was thought to have done, for that deſpairing to reach and obtain this Dignity himſelf, out of emulation he laid a deſign that never any other of the Nobles of the Kingdom ſhould reach it: affecting rather to give a ſtranger the place than a Competitor, bringing in the *French* to equal the ballance as principal; himſelf only as acceſſory, nothing doubting of a chief place in State, as well for his forwardneſs in this election, as for the neceſſity of his Service which the *French* could not well want, and ſhould never be lacking. He feared alſo if the faction of the *Dowglaſſes* prevail'd, the greatneſs of the Earl of *Anguſs* would be an umbrage to his, and leſſen and impair it; Their Lands and Fortunes lying neer to other, as that the Queen by her power in *England* would croſs his faireſt projects.

The King of *England* had ſent a Letter to the Lords of *Scotland* (as he had done to the *French* King for that ſame effect) remonſtrating how dangerous it was for the State of *Scotland*, and young King, if they ſhould make choiſe of the Duke of *Albany*.

Notwithſtanding of all which through ambition, malice, envy of others, diſcords amongſt themſelves, they made choiſe of this Gentleman, a ſtranger by his education and birth, ignorant of the nature and manners of the *Scots*: whoſe Father was baniſhed for Treaſon againſt his Brother, and dyed unreſtored. One altogether devoted to the *French* King, and an enemy to the *Engliſh*; not caring to keep the Countrey of *Scotland* in Warrs and Troubles, ſo he might defend

defend the *French* Nation, by making the *Scots* fight their battels.

After many private Letters from his Friends in *Scotland* (especially from the Chamberlain) inviting him to come home and accept his new dignity, the Duke at last is required by the State, and Lyon King of Arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and make him forward on his way. He to endear his comming and make himself the more desired of the People, excusing his stay for a while (which he laid upon the Treaty of Peace, which was then to be agreed upon between *England* and *France*, by the marriage of *Lovys* the *French* King with *Mary* the youngest Sister of *Henry* King of *England*, which required his presence) sendeth home the King of Arms with Letters from the *French* King, with Sir *Anthony Darcea le Sieur de la Beautie*. This man propounded certain conditions which the Duke required. What should be the form of his Government, his Guards, what Castles should be delivered to him for his Garrisons; the restoring his patrimony and Fathers dignities to him. Which particularities being condescended unto, the Castle of *Dumbar* was instantly delivered to *la Beautie* to be kept for a *French* Garrison at the Dukes comming: and Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, *James Oguilbuy* Abbot of *Arbroth* with the King of Arms, were sent back again to *France*. After their arrival the Duke of *Albany* furnished with all necessaries by the *French King* with eight well rigged Ships took the Seas, and in the moneth of *May* arrived on the West coasts of *Scotland*, from whence with a great retinue of the Nobles and Barons of the Countrey by easie journeys, the Queen meeting him, he came to the Town of *Edinburgh*. In the Parlament which had been prorogued for his comming, the Duke accepted the Government, and gave his oath of fidelity to the King and Countrey: and the three Estates gave their oath of obedience to him, and both swore in the administration of Justice, neither should be deficient to others. Here is he restored to all his Fathers inheritance, titles and honours. Being declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and *Governour* of the Kingdom till the Kings full maturity. Many Laws are made for the weal of the Kingdom, and to gratifie his Linnage, *James* the naturall Sonne of *James* the fourth is created Earl of *Murray*.

At the presence of this new Governour the face of the State turned more beautiful, and the Court more Royall, oppression is restrained, justice sincerely executed, the Court is frequented with good and virtuous men, Malefactours and naughty persons banish themselves. He maketh a progress to all the notable Towns of the *Kingdom*, seeing crimes punished,

nished and faults amended. Being a Stranger and not throughly acquainted with the municipal Statutes and particular practises of the Countrey, in matters great and of importance he proceedeth by the instructions and informations of some choice men of the Nation it self. Especially since he was not infinite to listen to the advice of every one, he gave himself to hearken and follow the opinion and counsell of *John Hepburn* Priour of St. *Andrews*: whose judgement in his greatest difficulties he receives as an Oracle. This man being of a subtle wind, malitious, crafty, rich and endued with some Courtly eloquence, by a counterfeit Pretence of knowledge of the affairs of the Kingdom and State (neither in some things did he err) at first being very familiar with the Duke and in a little time after, by bribing secretly some of his choise Servants, turned his only Privado, and almost possessed alone his judgement and ear. He informed him of the strength and Riches of the Countrey, of the natnre of the people, manner of their Lawes, revealed to him many secrets of the Government. He gave him a Catalogue of the whole deadly fewds and divisions amongst the Noble men and Gentry, opening unto him which were inveterate, and had long continued, and which were fresh, upon what accidents they had their beginnings. How in prosecuting Revenge in them they cared not how innocent any man was if he were of the Name and Alliance, but rather thought the more innocent any was the more it testified their spight which they desired to manifest by taking him away. He shewed him what factions were in the Kingdom, who sway'd them, and were the heads. He told him the *Scots* were a violent fierce people, mutinously proud, and knew not how to obey without the Sword were drawn. That they were never absolutely governed by their own Kings themselves, far less would they be ruled by him who was but a Governour, and half a Stranger. King *James* the first they had killed, they had made a League against King *Iames* the second, in open Battel they had overthrown King *Iames* the third, and the last King was by best judgements thought to have been secretly taken away: here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the Arch-bishop *Andrew Formans* Bull) he omitted nothing could derogate to the Chamberlains reputation and honour, and an evil opinion of him in the Governour.

He instructed him how the great Houses of *Scotland* were so joined and linkt together, by kinred, alliances, Bonds of service or Homage, that no Gentleman of any quality, although a Malefactor and a guilty person, could be presented to justice without some stir, commotion, tumult of the Grandees and their factious friends: Amidst so many strong

parties and confederate male-contents, the Governor by the power of the *Scots* themselves, and his own Kindred, Friends and Followers were not powerful enough safely to administer justice: for which cause the King of *France* should be implored to send hither competent forces to quell the insolencies and shake the pride of the factious Nobles. The heads of the factions which had a principal sway in the Kingdom at that time would either be cut off, or kept under, but with such cunning and dexterity that it should not be perceived, nor found out; that many were aimed at and interessed when some few did suffer and fall. That for the present there were three heads to be looked unto as feared and like to bring Novations in the State, being men able to change the present Government.

The Earl of *Angus*, a man in the prime of his youth, of high flying thoughts by his Alliance with the King of *England*, and that estimation the people conceived of him by the demerits of his Ancestors, and the singular love the Subjects bare him, carryed a mind above the fortune of a private man, and seemed not born to live a subjects life, each action of his bearing in it majesty and magnificence, he had power to hurt if he would hurt.

The Lord Chamberlain, a man unpolisht, stubbornly stout, hazardous, mighty in riches and power, and consequently proud, of a working mind and vehement Spirit, whom time and experience had hardned by great exployts and most dangerous actions, who had the malice to be a Spectator of the discomfiture of his Prince and Countrymen at *Flowden*, was likely to attend the opportunity of traverses and changes.

The third was the Arch-Bishop *Andrew Forman*, once Secretary to the Pope, who though he was not of any Noble Stem nor descent of blood, nor for his Followers, Friends, and Adherents much to be taken notice of or feared, yet considering him as his Legateship, pluralty of benefices, many pensions from Princes, had guilded him over, and ballancing him by his present treasure, he could make a weak party strong, and add weight to what side soever he inclined. He was therefore with piercing eyes to be lookt into, and all his actions and waies to be observed.

The Governour gave not great attention to what the Priour had instructed against the Arch-Bishop, having before had some inkling of the rancor, grudge and enmitie between them. And he was conscious the Arch-Bishops riches were above envy; he having been ever more solicitous magnificently to spend what he had acquired than hoord up. Neither did he bestow so much upon any of his Countreymen, as he did upon the *French*, the Friends and Servants of the Gover-

Governour. He knew he was also so circumspect as not to adhere to any of the factions of the time, in a neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his Compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his information concerning the Earl of *Angus*, finding him a man peaceable, courteous to all and affable; and though of aspiring thoughts, carryed often away with his private delights and Courtly pleasures.

But what the Priour informed against the Lord Chamberlain he deeply ingraved in his memory, and ever after his countenance bewrayed certain flaws of ill concealed discontent: Neither did he thereafter shew him wounted favours, which the Chamberlain observing and guessing at the change of the Governors mind towards him by more than ordinary evidences and signs: He having been the onely man who wrought his advancement and comming to *Scotland*, his deserts now either forgot or ungratefully remembred, full of grief and disdain, retired from the Court to his own Castles, where, when he had rested a while, half astonished to see his hopes so frustrate, he taketh new resolutions and determinations to play the Governour double or quite. Hereafter he leaveth no meanes untryed to become entire with the Queen and her Husband, and by observance and frequent meeting with them, he wrought himself not onely to be imbraced as their Friend, but their Counsellor, and one in whom they had great confidence. He many times with them deplored the publick calamity, when his own particular only stong him, accusing himself of his too much forwardness in calling home a man born an exile, whose father dyed banish'd for his ambition, and had essayed to take the Crown from his eldest Brother. Sith this man was the neerest of bloud to succeed who could not perceive his last work would be the making away the innocent child, his Pupil, to ascend the Royal Throne himself; in the height of malice accomplishing what his Father out of a desire to rule did project. By his tender years the King could not prevent his danger, his Mother might anticipate it, that new necessities requir'd new remedys only one postern gate remained yet open, which was that the Queen would transport her Son to *England*.

When this plot was whisper'd to the Governor, who wanted not his Emissaries among the Queens attendants, it was no sooner reveal'd than believ'd, and no sooner believ'd, when (being a man who used celerity in all his actions) with as many men as hast could suffer him to gather, forthwith marched from *Edinburgh* to *Sterlin*, there unawares he surprized the Castle, and in it the Queen with her two Sons. A Council being assembled, the *King* with his brother *Alexander* are sequestred from their Mother, and trusted to the custody of four

Lords, who by turns interchangeably should attend the two Princes and have a care of their education. That no violence should be offered them, certain Gentlemen of the *French* and *Scots* are appointed still to wait on and guard them; from this suspition the seeds of enmity began to be sown between the Queen and the Governor, which neither time nor wisdom thereafter could take away and root out.

Amidst this storm of Court, the Lord Chamberlain brought to a new traverse of his thoughts with his Brother Mr. *William Hume* fly towards *England*; the Queen with her Husband and Sir *George Dowglas* his Brother with an unexpected suddeness hast to *Tantallon*, and from thence to *Berwick*, from which they had a convoy to the Nunnery of *Colstream*: Here they attended advertisment from the King of *England* what course to follow and know his pleasure. He recommended them to the Protection and care of the Lord *Dacres*, and assigned the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* for his Sisters residence during her aboad in these Northern parts, and the troubles of *Scotland*.

The Governor not a little perplexed at the flight and escape of those Conspiratours, sendeth Embassadors to the Court of *England* to clear himself to the King of what might be surmised against him concerning these new strangers come to his Country. He had done nothing which should have offended the Queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a sinister thought of his proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing against these had followed and accompanyed her, which should have moved them to leave their Country; unto whom if they pleased to return they should be welcom, enjoy their wonted freedom, and keep peaceably what they had possessed. If they were conscious to themselves of any misdemeanor, he would not be too precise in the search of it. He also trafficked by the friends of those who favored the *Dowglasses* and *Humes* to perswade them to a Return, giving them fair promises of obtaining what they should demand. Till at last he removed them to bow and yield to his desires. The fugitive Gentlemen returnd; but the Queen being with child, and near the time of her delivery, was necessitated to stay still, till at *Harbottle* Castle she brought forth her daughter *Margarite*, after Grand-mother to *Iames* King of *Britain*. So soon as she was able to endure travel, and be transported, King *Henry* with an honourable retinue brought her to his Court, where she was by him and his Sister *Mary* (late Queen of *France*) welcomed. In *May* she made her progress through *London* to *Baynards* Castle, and from thence to *Greenwich*.

The Contrivers of the exploit of transporting the King to *England*

England being within the Country, and, as it were, ſecure, the Governor, whoſe head was filled with ſuſpitions, not thinking himſelf bound by promiſes, will have them give a reckoning of their enterprize and flight into *England*. Againſt ſome he hath clear proofs, fair and manifeſt evidences; againſt other bare ſurmiſes and naked ſuſpitions, for they had not left the Country, nor had they been partakers of the Queens fortunes. Here with an unexſpected ſuddenneſs, M. *Gaven Dowglas* Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, Biſhop of *Dunkel*, Mr. *Patrick Panther* Secretary to the late King, were committed. Mr. *Gaven* in the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Patrick* in *Garvet* Caſtle. The Lord *Drummond* grand-Father to the Earl of *Angus*, having beaten a Lyon Herault, who too imperiouſly had given a charge to anſwer to ſuch things ſhould be objected againſt him, was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. *Alexander* Lord *Hume* being charged to anſwer for his actions and proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced Rebel, his moveables ſeiſed on and brought to the Exchequer. Stir'd up and irritated by this outrage, he maketh Roads upon the neighbour bounds, plundereth *Dumbar* which was the Governors chief reſort, and to revenge his wrongs, ſetteth on work the Robbers on the borders. To repreſs and bridle this ravaging, the Governor in perſon with a thouſand hardy Souldiers marcheth to the Borders, directeth ſome companies to find out the Lord *Hume*; but he, either diſmaid at the worth and fortune of the Governor, or broken and bowing under the burthen of his own miſeries, commeth to the Governor and ſubmitted his life and eſtate to his faith and clemency: brought to *Edinburgh*, he is truſted to the cuſtody of *Iames* Earl of *Arran* the Husband of his Siſter, with threatnings under pain of High Treaſon, that he ſhould not part with him, nor ſuffer him to eſcape. The Lord *Hume* had not long ſtaid in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, when with gloſſes of probalityes of changes caſual, and ſuch as might fall forth, he moved the Earl of *Arran* to be of his Mind, and brought him to conſpire againſt the Governor, and hazard to put himſelf in his place of State. He himſelf was the only man who had brought in the Governor, and he knew well how to put him out, if the Earl would be of the Party, and by his negligence not reject a Supream honor thrown in his arms. He is begun already not to be lov'd, if he was not already hated by the ſubjects by his imperious proceedings. If the King of *England* could find ſome few Noblemen to make head againſt him, he would conſtrain him to leave the Country. The Earl of *Arran* was neereſt heir to the King, it was more reaſon he ſhould be ſecond in the Kingdom than *Iohn*, who though deſcended of a brother, yet a baniſht man, and a ſtranger to the *Scots* Nation,

tion, with whom they had not so much as intercourse and familiarity of language. After many such like inducements, the Prisoner took away his Keeper with him to the South parts of the Country: and both by Letters to their Familiars, Kinred, and acquaintance, and private meetings with other Noblemen strove to make strong and increase their faction.

In the beginning of the Spring *John Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*, the Sisters son of the Earl of *Arran*, listed himself in the party of the conspiring Lords, and with a number of his Friends and Followers invested the Castle of *Glasgow*; which if they could have kept, had been a great advancement to their intentions. But the Governor gathering an Army of as many as hast would suffer him to assemble, the Defenders not being strong enough to resist him, recovered the Castle with small loss of his men. After which in indignation he marched to throw down the Castle of *Hamilton*; here victorious anger was conquer'd by pitty and compassion: for the old Countess of *Arran* being at that time there resident (who was daughter to King *Iames* the second, *Sister* to King *Iames* the third, mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Grand-mother to the Earl of *Lennox*, Aunt to the Governour) a Lady venerable for years and virtues, with tears of affection and sorrow falling down at the Governors feet, and received by him with great commiseration in a merciful manner, not only preserv'd the Castle, but by the means of the Arch-bishop *Andrew Forman*, entered into a Treaty for peace to her Son, and the Earl of *Lennox*. And in *November* the two Earls comming to *Edenburgh* by the means of this *Arch-Bishop* were reconciled with the Governor. About this time (his Mother being far from him to discharge the last duties of affection towards him) *Alexander* Duke of *Rothsay*, brother to the King, a child to admiration beautiful and Delightful, dyed at *Sterlin*, and was buryed in the Abby Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

The term of Peace between the two Kingdomes being almost expir'd, and both having a desire to continue it, the *English* sent their Commissioners to *Coldingham*, to whom the Duke, then resident at *Dumbar*, sent *Monsieur du Plains* Embassador for the *French* King, Sir *William Scot* of *Balweary*, and *Gaven Dumbar* Arch-Dean of Saint *Andrews*. These after some altercation concerning the *Scottish* Fugitives, conclude a Peace between the Nations from the midst of *Ianuary* till the feast of *Whitsuntide* after. The *English* comprehended in the Articles the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and the rest of the Queens strayed Faction, with all their Kinsmen, Clients and Followers. The Lord *Hume* was received again into the Governours favor, with condition that if he after break his promises and oaths, his old faults should be remembred

and

and joined to his new. Master *Gaven Dowglass* and Mr. *Patrick Panther* were set at Liberty, The Lord *Drummond* who had been forfeited was again restored, the Earl of *Angus* with these who had followed him with many ceremonies, and great store of Friendship, was welcomed again to the Court.

The Disorders of the Kingdom called a Parlament, in which many acts were made to restrain and keep under bold and wicked men, and preserve the peace of the Kingdom. In this Parlament it was Ordained, the Kings Brother *Alexander* being deceased, that the Governour should be reputed second person of the Realm, and next heir to the Crown. Notwithstanding of the claim made by *Alexander Stuart* the elder brother of the Governour, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkenay*, to whom the Duke of *Albany* their Father had been lawfully joined in marriage before his coming to *France*, and thus before the marrying of the Earl of *Bulloignes* daughter the Mother of *John* the Governour, upon which ground *Alexander* had great reason to make his claim and protestation as heir to his Father. Notwithstanding of his challenge and bravado, *Alexander* being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parlament gave over all title he had to the Crown in his brothers favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawfull Succession they turned him Priest, being made Bishop of *Murray*, and Abbot of *Skoon*.

A truce being sincerely kept with *England*, tumults within the Countrey appeased, particular deadly fewds and jarres of private persons either curbed or smothered up, the Governour giveth himself some weeks to his Courtly recreations at *Faulk-land*, with what pastime soever he be delighted, or beguile the hours all the day long, in the night he is often haunted by his old familiar the Priour of *St. Andrews*, whom ambition, spight, malice never suffered to take any rest.

This man put in the Governours head and made him believe, that his endeavours and pains heretofore would prove but vain in settling the Government, and that the peace of the Kingdom should never be lasting, firm and permanent, if so dangerous a Subject as the Lord Chamberlain remained alive: whom neither rewards could soften, nor honours and preferment oblige and make constant. How many times had he been pardoned? How often and without a cause had he returned again to his former Conspiracies? Should the Governour of his own free-will or of necessity be moved to return to *France*, what would not the boldness of this man attempt in his absence, which his authority and presence could never curb and keep within compass? the life of this

man

man would be the death and total ruin of the Peace of the concord and harmony of the State, bring forth nothing but dangerous and wicked effects; the violence of ambition having pulled him from his own judgement. Should he be challenged and put to a tryal of his Peers, He could not shun the blow of Justice, the cry of his oppression and wrongs having reached heaven? A member so often in vain cured and still gangrened should be cut off.

The Governour, whose Brains the Priour had now embrued with jealousies, thought it no great matter upon the informations he had received to put the Chamberlain to a Tryal; for if he proved not guilty, it would be but to leave him in that state and case he was found in; and calumnies though they do not burn yet black. Being come to *Edinburgh* he appointed a convention of the Nobility, all which time he earnestly trafficked with the Friends of the Lord Chamberlain that he should not be absent, the matters to be determined in Counsel concerniug him nearly, and he had need of his advice and counsel.

The Court and City being full of whisperings and expectation of some sudden change, many diswadeth the Chamberlain from appearing, if he appeared, that he would leave his Brother Master *William* (a man equal in judgement and courage to himself) behind. He trained into false hopes by the blandishments of the Governour towards his friends and inveigled by presumption, with his Brother, and (Sir *Andrew* called by the Countrey Lord) *David Car* of *Farnehast* commeth to Court, where they were with many ceremonies welcomed by the Governour, with more than ordinary favours entertained, and shortly after all three imprisoned, produced in judgment to answer to such things as should be objected against them according to the Lawes of the Kingdom, and submitted to the Sentence of a Jury. No new crime was laid to their charge, *Iames* Earl of *Murray* the natural Son of the late King, accused the Chamberlain of the death of his Father: who by many witnesses was proved alive, and seen to come from the Battel of *Flowden*: This by pregnant evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other points of Treason, and his private faults are found out and laid against him: they renew the memory of the late stirs of State and these disorders, of which he was either the Author or accessary to them. He had favoured and maintained the Factions, Thefts and Robberies of wicked Malefactours on the Borders: he had not honourably nor honestly carryed himself at the Battel of *Flowden*, performing neither the duty of a Souldier nor Commander. He had suffered the *English* to repair and of new fortifie the Castle of

Norham

Norham, which without either trouble to himself or danger of his Friends, he might have hindred. Of every of which points and particularities he not clearly justifying himself, the Judges prepared and directed by the Governor (whom they record to have given information of a hainous crime comitted by the Chamberlain and his brother, for the odiousness of it not to be revealed to the people) pronounce him and his Brother guilty, and condemn them to have their Heads cut off. The day following the sentence was put in execution, and their heads fixt on the most eminent part of the Town of *Edenburgh*. *David Car* of *Farnhast*, either by the Jury, being declared not guilty (as some have recorded) or by the Corrupting of his Keepers (as others) or by the permission of the Governor, escap'd this danger; which brought the People to believe the Chamberlain was by his means entrapped, *To sinck whom he put himself in hazzard of drowning.*

This Calamity of the Family of the *Humes*, being so antient, potent and couragious, bred terrour and astonishment in many of the other Noblemen of the Kingdom, and estranged their Hearts from the Governour; his ears began to be after attentive to every rumour, and his eyes pryed into each accident; at last, as if he were wearyed with wrastling with the many disorders, and cumbersome Factions of the Countrey, he sought how by some fair way he might for a while return to *France*. Embassadours being sent from King *Francis* to *Scotland* to renew the antient League between the two Nations, when the Nobles assembled to make choice of the man on whom they should transfer the honour of the accomplishment of so solem an action and pass to *France*, the Governour carryed the matter so by means of the *French*, that it was conferred on himself, but with this condition (to entertain them with hopes of his Return) that he should not stay above six Moneths out of the Countrey, Having obtained this privileged absence of them, his next care was to preserve the State from any alterations till his Return, and to find the Government as he left it. Hereupon to preserve the Person of the King, he is conveyed from *Sterlin* to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and trusted to the custody of the Earl of *Marshall*, the Lords *Ruthen* and *Borthick*, two of which should be alwaies resident with him, and accompany and assist the Lord *Areskin* his constant and unremovable Guardian. For the Government of the State he leaveth seaven Deputies in his Place, The Earl of *Arran*, *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Arguyl*, the Arch-Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Glasgow*; to these is adjoined Sir *Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beautie*, whom he had made Captain of *Dumbar*, and promoted to be in the Lord *Humes* Place,

Warden of the East Marches, keeping the daies of Truce and Justice Courts. This was the man to whom the entire Conduct of all the Governours affairs was intrusted, and who should give him advertisement of what did pass in *Scotland*, during his aboad in *France*. That no discord should arise amongst men equal in places and authority (the ordinary occasion of division) several shires which they should govern to every one of them are alloted: To Sir *Anthony Darcey* was destinated the Government of the *Mers* and *Lothian*; to the other their shires were appointed as the convenience of their dwelling places, Friends and Kinred did afford them. Under pretexts and fair colours of honour, and as to pass the time, and be trained in *French* Civility, also for the greater magnificency, the Governour took in his company the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lord *Gordon*, Masters of *Glencarn* and *Arran*, other young Lords; who in effect were so many Hostages, that no stir by their Parents, Kinred, Friends, should be raised during his absence. He likewise under dark Shadows and far sought pretences committed to such Castles as were garrisoned with *French* Souldiers, as *Dumbarton*, *Dumbar*, *Garvet*, certain Barons of the South and West Countreys, who wanted nothing but liberty, not for any thing they had done, but what they might do the Governour being out of the Kingdom. Matters brought to such a pass as his best Politicians could devise, accompanied with Master *Gaven Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkell*, and Master *Patrick Panther*, Secretary to the late King, men whom he feared to leave behind him, and entertained (though he knew they loved him not) as his bosome friends, in *June* at *Dumbartoun* he took Shipping.

Queen *Margarite* after she had remained a year in *England*, understanding by Letters the Governour had taken the Seas, and was on his way towards *France*, honourably dismissed by her Brother came to *Scotland*. At *Berwick* she was received by her Husband the Earl of *Angus*; but he was not accepted with the favours he was wont; for that plague of too much love (jealousie) had infected her, having gotten some inkling that he delighted in a free bed, and during the time of her aboad in *England* had entertained a Mistress in *Dowglas*-dale, an injury beyond degree of Reconcilement, after which she began to disdain him, and seek how she might be devorced from him. *Though whilst the King was kept in the Castle of* Edenburgh *all access unto him was refused her, when he was transported to the Castle of* Craigmillar, *out of a suspition and rumour the Plague had infested* Edenburgh, *by the courteste of the Lord* Areskin, *she had liberty to visit him, But her frequent haunting him out of too much motherly kindness, breeding a suspition in his Guardians, that, as had once before been practised by*

by a Queen in Scotland, *She had an intention to have ſtoln him away and ſend him to his Uncle, reſtrained her longer acceſs to him, and procured his return back again to the Caſtle of* Edinburgh.

Sir *Anthony Darcey* having by his vigilancy, pains, courage, given many proofs of his worth in defence of the Borders, and adminiſtration of Juſtice in thoſe ſhires he governed; The other Governours, often diſagreeing amongſt themſelvs, either out of Love of reſt, and to be vacant from buſineſs, or out of malice to procure him greater hatred, declare him abſolute Deputy: and they gave their promiſes to ſecond him in way of Juſtice: and here he found the difference between extreams and mediocrities. Many diſdained a Stranger ſhould be in that place, ſo many brave men of their Nation neglected. A quarrel at that time, either true and reall, or (as others have recorded) altogether forged and contriv'd to draw the Deputy in a Danger, ariſing between the Stewards of the Laird of *Langtoun*, and one of his Uncles, who by the power and means of Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, whoſe Siſter was his wife, had thruſt out and ejected the young heir and them of their own Caſtle of *Langtoun*, and kept it by force. The Deputy accompanyed with certain Lords of the Borders, and ſome *French* men his own Domeſticks came to the Town of *Dunce*, to hold a Juſtice Court concerning this Riot. The *Humes*, who thought nothing juſter than revenge, nor nobler than the effects of anger, having ſworn a requital of their Chiefs wrong, and to pay the Governour home when occaſion ſhould be offered, by the counſel and forwardneſs of Sir *David Hume*, lay an ambuſh, and ly in wait for the Deputy; the Plot not failing, they invade him at ſuch a diſadvantage, that ſome of his Servants killed, he was conſtrained to ſeek an eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, who in the chaſe either falling or ſinking in a mariſh, left his Maſter to the cruelty of his Perſuers, who ſtrook off his head, and to feed their eyes with the ſpectacle of their rage, ſet it to the diſgrace of the *French* on the battlements of the Caſtle of *Hume*. This end had Sir *Anthony Darcey* who deſerved ſo well both of *France* and *Scotland*, having been courteous, valiant, and noble in all his actions, and a great Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, who ſpared no travel, and freely adventured upon any dangers to ſuppreſs malefactors, and defend the weak and innocent.

The Governours, That greater miſchief ſhould not follow the boldneſs of theſe men, made choice of the Earl of *Arran* to reſiſt their outrage, and declare him Warden of the Marches and Supreum. Which election diſpleaſed the Earl of *Angus*; the Earl of *Arran* armed with power, neglecting *Angus* his intereſt, immediately committed Sir *George Dowglas*

his Brother to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, and *Mark Car* in *Garvet* Castle, out of a suspition they were accessory to the slaughter of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. In a Parliament shortly following many of the *Humes and Cockburns* Fugitives for this slaughter, and for that they had invited the *English* to their aid and spoil of the Countrey, are declared Rebels. The Parliament being dissolved, the Earl of *Arran* with a sufficient number of Souldiers, and some great Ordinance, besieged the Castles of *Hume* and *Langtoun*, and had them rendred to his mercy.

When the accident of Sir *Anthony Darcey* was noised at the Court of *France*, King *Francis* is recorded to have said he never looked for better at the hands of the *Scots*, and that the Duke of *Albany* should have deputed men of their own nation to have governed them, and not a stranger, being a people delighting in Misgovernment; ever well pleased at the Falls and tragical ends of their Rulers, and joying to see any hard hap happen to them they deem happy.

The Bishop of *Dunkell* who had accompanied the Governour to *France*, used such diligence at the Court, that he was imployed to be the first Messenger to the Countrey of the great promises and many Ceremonies of the *French*, at the confirmation of the League, with their protestations for the preserving and maintaining the Liberties of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against all who would essay to impair them. Not long after arrived the Earl of *Lennox* and an Herauld with Letters from King *Francis* and the Governour, amplifying and putting a larger gloss on the same. But when by other Letters the Queen and Nobles had received certain intelligence that King *Francis* and the King of *England* had composed their Quarrels, entred in a new band of Amity, a defensive League being passed between them, *Tournay* rendred to the *French*, promises upon either side solemnly made for a Match to be between the Daulphine of *France*, eldest son to King *Francis*, and the eldest daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, when age should enable them for marriage; and that in the large Treaty of Peace, not one word was set down for the quietness and help of those who for the quarrel of *France* hast lost their King, and endangered their whole Kingdom; no care had of their welfare and prosperity, they stormed not a little, and thought their lives and travels evil imployed. Then with as great hast as such a matter required they dispatched Letters back again to the Governor blotted with complaints and expostulations. The year following to excuse his oversight, the *French* King sent a *Reason* why he had not made mention of the *Scotish* nation in his league with *England*, He had studied to give satisfaction to some of the *Scotish* Nobility (obliquely touching

touching the Duke of *Albany*) whose minds he knew to be altogether averse from any peace or Truce with the *English* nation; whose undaunted Spirits and great courages were only bent to revenge the deaths of their King, Kinsmen and Compatriots. This evasion not giving satisfaction to the best advised of the Council, the *French* King interposed his endeavours with King *Henry* to have a cessation of arms for as short a time as he could devise. VVherupon *Clarencieux* and one *la Fiot*, comming to *Scotland*, the one from the King of *England*, the other from the *French* King, a Truce was concluded between the two Kingdoms for one year and a whole day. The reason of this Truce was thought mostly to be for that the Kings of *England* and *France*, the next Summer, were to have an interview, and with all Princely courtesies entertain each other.

The Kingdom began to be sensible of the absence of the Governour, factions increasing, the Commons suffering dayly outrages, the Nobility and Gentry deciding their Rights by their Swords. The Earl of *Rothsay* and the Lord *Lindsay* contending which should be Sheriff of *Fyfe*, with tumultuary arms invade each other, and hardly by the Deputies were restrain'd, till the one was committed to the Castle of *Dumbar*, and the other to the Castle of *Dumbartoun*. *Robert Blackadour* Priour of *Coldingham*, with six of his Domestick Servants, is killed by the Laird of *Wedderburn*. The King out of a suspition that the plague was in *Edenburgh*, being transported to the Castle of *Dalkieth* by the Convoy of the Earl of *Arran*, who was then Provost of the Town: it being the season when the Townsmen make election of their Magistrates for the year following; when the Earl was returned and sought to enter the Town, he found the Gates shut upon him by the Citizens, who alleged he came to invade their liberties in the free choise of their Magistrates: the tumult continueth the most part of the night, and the next morning early the people dividing in factions, and skirmishing in the streets, a Deacon of the *Crafts* is killed by the faction of the *Hamiltons*, which alienated the minds of the Townsmen altogether from the Earl of *Arran*, and made them encline to the Earl of *Angus*, some of whose friends and followers had rescued some of the Citizens, and taken part with others; which made many after conceave this discord was plotted by some noblemen enemies to the Earl of *Arran*, amongst which the Earl of *Angus* was the chief.

After this tumult the Earls of *Angus* and *Arran* sought likewise to cross each other in their proceedings: the one maintaining the enemies of the other: who had a quarrel against the Earl of *Arran*, the Earl of *Angus* befriended him, as the Earl of

of *Arran* supported and sided those who had any discontent against the Earl of *Angus*. A suit falling between the Earl of *Angus* and *David Car* Laird of *Farnehast* about the Ballywick of *Jedbrough* Forrest, the Lands appertained to the Earl, the title and power to sit Judge belonged to the Lairds of *Farnhast*, *Sir James Hamilton* the natural Son of the Earl of *Arran* assisted the Laird of *Farnhast*; and besides those who out of good will, friendship, kinred, vassalage, did follow him, he gathered fourty Souldiers such as were found upon the Borders, men living upon Spoil and rapine, to be of his party. The Laird of *Cesfoord* (then Warden of the Marches) who with his Counsel and Force sided the Earl of *Angus*, at the Rumour of the approach of Sir *James* to *Jedbrough*, encountreth him, and his fourty Hirelings abandoning him in his greatest danger, *Cesfoord* killing some of his followers brought to make use of his spurs towards the Castle of *Hume*, where after a long chase he got Sanctuary. The day following the Laird of *Farnehast* held a Court in the Town of *Jedbrough*, as Baily to the Earl of *Angus*, and the Earl himself kept his Court three miles distant in *Jed-ward* Forrest. In the moneth of *May* after, certain Noblemen assembled at *Edenburgh* to accommodate all quarrels, and make an atonement between the *Dowglasses* and *Hamiltons*. Many Lords of the West here meet, attending the Earl of *Arran*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Eglintoun*, *Cassiles*, the Lords *Ross*, *Simple*, the *Bishop of Galloway*, *Abbot of Pasley*. The *Provost* of the Town of *Edenburgh Archembald Dowglas of Kilspyndie*, Uncle or Cousen Germain to the Earl of *Angus*, yielded up his place to *Robert Logan* Laird of *Restlerig*. The Lords of the West by the advice of *James Beatoun* Chancelour (in whose House they often assembled) laid a plot to surprize the Earl of *Angus*, then attended but by some few of his Friends, and as it were solitary. They thought him to great and insolent a Subject, to whose power never one of theirs alone, was equal in all points, and they had many things to chalenge him upon when the Governor should return. The Earl of *Angus*, forewarned of their intention, imployed the Bishop of *Dunkell* his Uncle to offer them what honourable satisfaction they could require. All that he propounded being rejected by implacable men, and finding the only way to be freed of violence, to be violence, and that danger could not be avoyded but by a greater danger, with an hundred hardy resolute men armed with long Spears and Pikes, which the Citizens as he traversed the Streets, out of Windows furnished him, he invested a part of the Town, and barricadoed some Lanes with Carts and other impediments which the time did afford. The adverse party trusting to their number, and the supply

ſupply of the Citizens (who calling to mind the ſlaughter of their Deacon, ſhew them ſmall favour) diſdaining the Earl ſhould thus muſter on the Streets, in great fury invade him. Whilſt the bickering continued, and the Town is in a Tumult, *William Dowglas* brother to the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *George Hume* brother to the late Lord, with many others by blood and Friendſhip tyed together, enter by violence the Eaſt Gate of the *Town* (the Citizens making ſmall reſiſtance) force their paſſage through the throngs, ſeek the Earls enemies, find them, ſcoure the ſtreets of them. The Maſter of *Montgomery* eldeſt Sonne to the Earl of *Eglintoun*, Sir *Patrick Hamiltoun*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, with almoſt fourſcour more are left dead upon the place. The Earl himſelf findeth an eſcape and place of retreat through a Marſh upon the North ſide of the Town; The Chancelour and his retinue took Sanctuary in the *Dominican* Fryers; the tumult by the ſlaughter of ſome, and flight of others appeaſed, the Earl of *Angus* now freed of danger, licenſed all who pleaſed without further purſuit peaceably to leave the Town of *Edenburgh*, and return to their own Houſes. Some daies after the *Humes* well banded and backed with many Nobles and Gentlemen of their linage by the Earl of *Angus* conſent, took the Lord *Humes* and his brothers heads from the place where they had been fixt, and with the funeral Rites of thoſe times interr'd them in the *Black-Fryers*.

The Earl of *Angus* having angled the peoples hearts by his Magnificence, Wiſdom, Courage and Liberality, his Faction began to bear greateſt ſway in the Kingdom. For the continuance of which, the King of *England* dealt moſt earneſtly with the *French* King to keep the Duke of *Albany* ſtill in *France* with him. But the *French* had contrary deſigns. And when the Duke underſtood the great diſcords of the Nobility of *Scotland*, perſons of Faction being advanced to places, dangerous immunities being granted to the Commons, *France* and *England* beginning to be tyred of their Peace, and preparing for a new war: to curb the *Scottiſh* Factions, keep the Nation in quietneſs in it ſelf, by giving the Subjects other work abroad, whilſt common danger ſhould break of particular diſcords. Notwithſtanding of the *Engliſh* Ships which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about five years in *France*, in *November* he arrived on the weſt coaſts of *Scotland* at a place named *Garloch*. The Governour comming to *Edenburgh*, ſet himſelf to amend the enormities committed in his abſence; the Magiſtrates of the Town are depoſed, becauſe in the late uproar they had been evil ſeconds to the Lords of the weſt, when they went to

surprize the Earl of *Angus*. A Parliament is called, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen are cited to make appearance in *February* to be tryed, and to answer for offences committed by them in the Governours absence. The appointed time being come, these who appeared not, were indicted and fled into *England*. Amongst which, and the chief, were the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, men Authors and accessary to the death of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. The tyde now turning, and mens affections changed, the Earl of *Angus*, with his brother Sir *George Dowglas*, by the intercession of the Queen, are constrained to seek a Pardon: which was obtained for them, but with the condition that they should leave the Countrey, and stay in *France* one whole year, which they obeyed. Others have recorded they were surprized in the night, and in *French* Ships conveyed privately away. *Mr. Gaven Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkell*, in the absence of his Nephew, finding the Governour violent in the chase of the Faction of the *Dowglasses*, fled privately to the Court of *England*, where he gave informations to King *Henry* against him. *He alone had taken to him the custody of the young King, the sequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconciliable enemy to the whole Family of the* Dowglasses. *The principal cause of his comming to* Scotland *was to engage the Nation in a War against* England, *that the* English *should not assist the Emperour against the* French *King, and make his Nation slaves to* France.

This Bishop shortly after dyed at *London*, and was buryed in the *Savoy* Church: having been a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his works, yet extant, testifie.

The King of *England* upon such informations sent *Clarencieux* (King of Arms) to *Scotland* to require the Duke to avoid the Country, according to the Articles agreed upon between the *French* King and him in their last truce.

It belonged (said Clarencieux) *to his Master to tender the life, wellfare, honour, fortunes of his Nephew, of none of which he could be assured so long as the Duke ruled and stayed in* Scotland. *It was against all reason, and unbeseeming, the man should be sole Guardian to a King, who was the next heir to the Crown: how easily might he be tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatural cruelty which some have done in the like case both in* England *and other parts of* Europe? *if he loved his Nation and Prince (as he gave out) he required him to leave the Country, which if he yield not unto, but obstinately continued in a resolution to stay, he denounced from his Master present war.* He farther complained, *That the Earl of* Angus, *who was King* Henries *Brother-in-Law, was by him banisht and detained in* France; *That during the banishment of the Earl, which had been neer a whole year, the Duke*

had

had importuned his Sister the Queen with dishonest love.

The Governour answered *Clarencieux*, *That what the Kings of* France *and* England *agreed upon in their Treaties of Peace was to him uncertain, but of this he was most certain, That neither the King of* England *nor* France *had power to banish him (a Forainer over whom their authority did not reach) his native Country, like over like having no jurisdiction.*

As concerning the King of Scotland, *who was yet young in years he reverenced him as his Soveraign Lord, and would keep and defend both him and his Kingdome according to his Conscience, honour and bound duty; that there were ever more men in the world who desired to be Kings, than there were Kingdomes to be bestowed upon them, of which number he was none, having ever preferred a mean estate justly enjoyed, before a Kingdome evil acquired. For the Earl of* Angus, *he had used all Courtesies towards him, notwithstanding of his evil demerits, not for his own sake (he did confess) but for the Queens sake, whom he honoured and respected as the Mother of his Prince, and towards whom he should continue his observance. That the King of* England *needed not misdoubt he would attempt any thing should derogate from the honour of his Sister, that complements of meer curtesie in* France, *might be surmised sometimes by* English *Ladies to be solicitations and suits of Love.*

For the War, with which in case of his stay, he threatned his nation, he would use his best endeavours to set his in a posture of Defence.

When this answer was reported to King *Henry*, he gathered a great Army to invade *Scotland*, and essay if by their own dangers the *Scots* people could be moved to abandon and disclaim the Dukes authority. Seven great Ships came to *Inche-keeth* and spoiled the adjacent Coasts: all the *Scots* and *French* which did then inhabite *London*, and other places of *England*, were put to their fines, and commanded to go off the Countrey.

In compensation and for equal amends, the *French* King seized all *English* mens goods in *Bourdeaux*, imprisoned the persons, and retained the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tournay*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* making incursions on the Borders, burned the one half of *Kelso*, and plundered the other.

At this time the Emperor *Charles* the fifth came to *England*, and stirred King *Henry* to take arms against the *French* King; and the *French* had sent Embassadours to *Scotland* intreating and conjuring the *Scots* by their old and new League to arise in arms and invade *England*. The Governour assembled the three Estates at *Edinburgh*, which together condescended to the raising of an Army to resist the incursions of the *Eng-*

liſh and defend the Kingdom, to encourage every man for fighting, the Wards of thoſe which ſhould fall in this expedition, were freely remitted and diſcharged by Act of Parlament, and penſions deſigned to the Widdows and Daughters of thoſe who dyed in this ſervice. This Empyrick balm could the *French* apply to cure the wounds of the *Scotiſh* Common-wealth.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* advancing (as was reported) towards the weſt Borders, an Army was far gathered and encamped on *Rosline-moor*, which after, according to the orders given, marched to *Annandale* and forwards, came to the *Esk*, a River running in the Iriſh Seas neer *Carlile*; the Governour delighted with the Seat and ſtanding of the place, cauſed dig Trenches, and by the advice of certain *French* Gunners placed ſome Field Pieces, and ſmall Ordinance for defence of them, and ſpread there his Pavilions. The Citizens of *Carlile* terrified at the ſudden approach of ſo powerful an Army, offer many preſents for the ſafety of their Town, whch he rejected. The Engliſh Army not minding to invade the Scots ſo long as they kept themſelves on their own ground and advanced not, the Governour endeavoured to make the *Scots* ſpoil the Countrey by incurſions, but he findeth them ſlack and unwilling to obey and follow him, moſt part refuſing to go upon *Engliſh* Ground, amongſt whom *Alexander* Lord *Gordon* was the chief and firſt man. The Governour finding his command neglected, and ſome Noblemen diſſenting from what he moſt intended, commeth back to the place where they made their ſtand, and deſires a reaſon of their ſtay. They told him, they had determined to defend their own Countrey, not invade *England*. That it neither conſiſted with the weal of the Common-wealth, nor as matters went at that time, had they ſufficient forces to make invaſive War: That the Governour did not inſtigate them to invade *England* for the love he carryed to *Scotland*, but for a benefit to the *French*, by diverting the war prepared by the *Engliſh* againſt them. That by invading they might make themſelves a prey to their enemies; they were Men and not Angels; it was enough for them whilſt their King was under age to defend his Kingdom from the violence of Foreigners. Put the caſe they were in one battel victorious, conſidering the ſlaughter and loſs of their Nobles and Gentry in that purchaſe, they might be overthrown in a ſecond fight, and then to what would the King and Country be reduced? their laſt King might ſerve them for a pattern, the Revenge of whoſe death ſhould be delayed till he himſelf were of years to undertake it.

The Governour brought to an exigent, ſaid they ſhould have

have propounded these difficulties before they took Arms, and on the place of Battel. Temerity misbecame Noblemen in action, but especially in matters of War, in which a man cannot err twice. At the convention of the three Estates when war was in deliberation, they should have inquired for the causes of it; he was not to bring them upon the danger of a war without their own consent. The *English* had made many incursions upon their Countrey, burning and ravaging: who stand only upon defence, stand upon no defence; a better defence of their own Countrey could not be found than by invading the Countrey of their Enemies. They should not be dejected for that accident at *Flowden*, since it was not the fault of the Souldier, but the Treason of their Chamberlain who had suffered for it. That the glory of the Nation should raise their courages, and inflame their bosoms with a desire of revenge: The Kings honour and their piety towards the Ghosts of their Compatriots, crav'd no less from them. That if they would not invade *England*, at least, for their Reputation and Fame with the World, they would pitch there a short time their Tents, and try if the *English* would hazard to assail them. That it would be an everlasting branding their honour, if timorously in a suddenesse they show their backs to their enemies, and dared them not in the face by some daies stay.

The Queen, though absent, had thus perswaded the Noblemen, and having understood the Governour to be turned now flexible, she dispatched a Post to him, requesting he would be pleased with a Truce for some Moneths, and that he would commune with the Warden of the *English* Marches, whom she should move to come to his Tent and treat with him. The Governour finding he stood not well assured of some of his Army, and knowing what a cumbersome task it was to withstand the violence of their desires, determined to follow their own current: seemed well pleased to hearken to their opinion. Hereupon the Lord *Dacres* Warden of the West Marches came unto the Governours Camp the eleventh of *September* (and, as some have recorded, the Queen also) where a Cessation of Arms was agreed unto for some daies, in which time the Queen and the Governour should send Embassadours to treat for a Peace with King *Henry*, and shortly after Embassadours were directed to the Court of *England*, but returned without any good don, King *Henry* demanding extraordinary and harmful conditions to the Realm of *Scotland*.

The year 1522. *Andrew Forman* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, dyed, and *James Beatoun* Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow* and *Chancellour* of the Kingdom came in his place of St. *Andrews*, the

Arch-Bishoprick of *Glasgow* was conferred upon *Gaven Dumbar* whom the King after advanced to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

The Governour resenting highly the slighting of the Embassadours by the King of *England*, but more the contempt and scorn of the *Scottish* Nobility in refusing to follow him, in *October* by the West Seas past over to *France*, promising that if a peace in this mean time were not concluded with *England*, he would the next Summer bring such War-like Briggades of *French* and *Germans*, that he should not stand much in need of his own Countreymen, who had continued so refractory and backward to his designs. He demanded from King *Francis* five thousand *German* Horsemen, and ten thousand foot to be transported to *Scotland*: which with the *Scots* who would accompany him, he thought sufficient to continue a War with *England*. The *French* could not spare so many men, having Wars both with the *Emperour* and the *English*, but they gave him three thousand Pikes, and one thousand Launces. The Governour intending to return to *Scotland*, receiving intelligence that the Ports towards the coasts of *France* were watched by the *English* to intrap him in his passage, bestowed his Ships so covertly here and there in small companies to avoid all suspition of any purpose he had to stir that year, as that thereupon the *English* Fleet under the Conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, which had attended and waited his comming forth, untill the Midst of *August*, brake up and bestowed themselves in convenient Ports against the next spring. The Duke then watching opportunity, and readily gathering together his dispersed Ships, to the number of some fifty Sail, imbarked his men at *Brest* in *Bretaign* the one and twenty of *September*, and landed at *Kirkowbry*, or the Isle of *Arran*, in the West of *Scotland*. In his company was *Richard de la Pool* who had been banished *England*, and to his power faithfully assisted the Governour. He arrived the same time that *Jed-brough* was burnt by the *English*; for *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* high Admiral of *England*, the Marques of *Dorset* and his Brother, with a competent power entring *Scotland* had burnt many Towns, and overthrown Castles and Piles.

At his comming the Duke assembled the Lords at *Edenburgh*, where they agreed that an Army should forthwith be gathered, and the 28. of *October* was appointed for their meeting at *Dowglas-dale*. At the day prefixt the Army marched towards *Coldstream* upon the *Tweed*. Out of this Army the Governour having selected a number of the hardiest Soldiers of *Scots* and *French*, and convoying some Artillery over the water under the command of *David Car* of *Farnehast*,

on

on the last of *October* they besieged the Castle of *Wark*, which was defended by *Edward Lile* or *Lisle*. The Assailants upon the outmost Ward continuing their Battery entred by main force the second Ward, but being there repulsed and beaten back, a great Tempest arising, and fearing the swelling of the River of *Tweed* might cut them off from their Army on the other side, they turned back and repassed the Water; the Report of the Earl of *Surreys* forces come to rescue the Castle and lying at *Anwick*, had also perplexed them not a little; the Earl of *Surrey* at his approach finding the Enemy retired to the other side of the River, the Castle safe, and having no Commission to pass the *English* marches, or to invade *Scotland*, made no further pursuit. In the mean time the Queen who had ever sought to make firm friendship with her Brother, and break the amity of *France*, sent to him to yield to a cessation of War, hoping in that time to work some agreement between the two Nations. Whereunto the King consenting, the Governour finding the *Scottish* Lords averse to his intentions, that he was this time served as he had been before (they refusing still to enter upon *England*) and that striving would but the more chafe them, also condescended. Thus a Truce was promised, and faithful peace concluded till the last of *November*, being the Feast of *St. Andrews*; the Winter past without any invasion of the *English* on *Scotland*, or the *Scots* on *England*.

During the time of this Truce many serious consultations were amongst the Lords of *Scotland* whither it were more fit to continue this War, or give it over. Many of them held it unreasonable that for the onely pleasure of the *French* King the Realm of *Scotland* should suffer any more damage by the continuing of so needless a War, and that the Duke of *Albany* was alwaies set to perform what the *French* desired, not what was expedient for the *Scottish* Nation, nor what was in their possibility to accomplish. Wherefore they wished that their young King now having attained some years of discretion, and passing the age of a Child, might bear some sway in the Government of the Realm. Some argued that a King sooner than the Sons of Noblemen went out of the bondage of Tutelage, and enjoyed greater immunities, his age often being reckoned from the time of his conception. That the administration and charge of the Kingdom should early be given him, that he might with his years grow in the art of Governing; Since we find the same to be usual in the perfection of other arts and Sciences. Others entertained other thoughts, That to a child who could not by the weakness of his judgement discern Right from Wrong, the Helm of State should not be trusted, and that the Peers of the Kingdom

dom might be challeng'd of dotage by their Neighbor Countreys for giving to a Child the Sword of Justice, which he might thrust in their own entrails one day, or wound therewith the bosom of the Common-wealth.

The Governour finding the Lords divided amongst themselves, and their reasons averse to his intentions, and that not onely the people, but the Souldiery were weary of him, and had bent their affections upon their young King, foolishly preferring the ignorance and simplicity of a child to his prudency, experience, and long practice of State; requested them to give him leave to return to *France*, and to forgive him any errour he had committed, which he protested was of ignorance not of malice. Having from men distasted with him, without any opposition, obtained what he required, far from any outward shew of inward discontentment, or disquieting himself at the ingratitude of some whom he had advanced to Honors, he came to *Sterlin*, where after some days stay with the King, when he had given him such instructions of State, as he was able to understand (for he was but then in the thirteenth year of his Age) with many tokens of love, and demonstrations of sincere affection he took his leave of him: and his Ships attending his passage on the West, with a great retinue of *Scots* and *French*, he held his way towards them, and recommended himself to the Sea in the Spring time, now the third time for *France*, after which he return'd not at all into *Scotland*.

He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, Active, Couragious, Resolute, and knew how to use men as they are.

If he had not been opposed by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely to have lost himself and the whole Kingdom, or revenged the death of his Cousen.

His courteous nature went above his ambition; he could as well lay down his Honours, as he had modestly, when they were laid upon him, received them.

Before the Rumor of the Duke of *Albanies* taking the Seas was spread abroad, the King of *England* by secret Letters had required the Earl of *Angus*, who then an Exile staid in *France*, to come to him; after the receit of which, with a short-leave taking he left *France*, where he had staid almost three years, commeth to *England*; King *Henry* had brought him to believe, *That the Duke had determined to extirpate his whole Linnage: To prevent which he made him offer of Men and Ammunition to preserve his own, and by his faction at home, and his assistance, to send the Duke over Seas; which if he had staied, the Earl was esteemed powerful enough to have accomplished.*

The Duke of *Albany* being in *France*, the Queen with the

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Government of the State, assumeth the person of her Sonne; whom she moved to leave *Sterlin* and come to *Edinburgh*; the third day after he had made his entry in the Town she lodg'd with him in the *Maiden Castle*, and it seized on, armed with authority, she doubted not to make the Countrey yeild her all obedience. That the Supream Magistrate of the Town should not oppose her Designs, he is put from his Office, and the Lord *Maxwell* (a man to her obsequious) is substituted in his place.

To give the fairer lustre to her Actions, a Parlament is called at *Edenburgh*, that what she did, might consist with Law.

When King *Henry* understood the Duke had left *Scotland*, to exclude and bar him all regress, he sent one *Magnus*, a great Oratour, but greater by the renown of his skill in the Laws, with *Roger Ratcliff*, his Embassadours, to try how the *Scots*, amidst unnecessary turmoils, would relliſh a Truce and Cessation of Arms: and these lay the blame of all the disorders and discords between the two Nations upon the Duke; The Nobles tyred with their tedious Wars, beginning to espy a Heaven of rest, cheerfully accept of this Embassie, and agree unto a Truce for one whole year. To confirm which they condescend Commissioners shall be dispatched instantly, who shall treat not only for a Truce, but for a firm and lasting Peace between the two Nations, and unite the two Crowns in bands of Amity, as well as they were united in degrees of blood.

The Earl of *Angus*, his enemy abandoning the Kingdom, after honourable entertainment of the King of *England*, many promises to befriend him, and blandishments at his departing, commeth to *Scotland*, and his return began to change the Game of State. The Queens and Earl of *Arrans* Faction carryed all matters of importance; the Earls of *Lennox*, *Arguyl*, and the *Humes* had been sequestred from publick imployments; the first faction by his presence find their power diminisht, the other by his counterpoise and assistance have new hopes of arising; both factions disliked that *Angus* should arise to the first place, and suspected he would not be content with the second; they loved to have him an equal, not Supreme.

Private jarrs smothered and interests delayed, matters concerning *England* requiring a hasty and present discharge, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassiles*, *Robert Cockburn* Bishop of *Dunkell*, *David Mill* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, are sent Commissioners to the Court of *England*. At *Greenwich* they are honorably and kindly received by King *Henry*, whose countenance promised them a refusal of no reasonable thing they would require.

quire. The Bishop had a speech, the Sum of which was,

That dissention and hatred taken away between the two Nations, a faithful Peace might be agreed unto and confirmed, their Discords turned into Union, their Rancour into Love; which to bring to pass and make durable. the only apparent and probable means, was to bestow the Lady Mary *the Kings daughter, upon* James *the young King of* Scotland.

The *English* with great joy applauded to what was said: And King *Henry* appointed certain Commissioners to treat about that purpose in private. These when they had met to advance the Union of the Kingdomes, desired these Conditions.

First, That the Scotish *Nation giving over, and fairly forsaking the League they had with* France, *should enter in a new League with them, upon the same conditions and terms which were contained in their League with* France.

Next, That the young King of Scotland, *till by age he was able for marriage, should be brought up at the Court of* England.

When the Embassadours of *Scotland* had answered, *That these conditions were above their Commission, to which they could not well answer,* and desired a time to acquaint the *Council* of *Scotland* with them; it was condescended unto. Thus two of them remaining at *London* the Earl of *Cassiles*, returned to *Scotland* to bring back an answer.

When the day in which the Parlament should have been held was come, the Queen and they who were of her faction, as the Earls of *Arran, Murray, Eglintoun*, fearing the Earl of *Angus* might turn the wavering peoples affection, and move them to some Revolt, which might hinder their Determinations, or terrify the Commissioners by the frequent convention of his Friends and Followers, constraining their voices, and restraining their freedom of speech: Or that they had a plot to surprize some of the contrary Faction, and by authority of Parlament commit them in that place, caused a Proclamation to be made, *That none of the three Estates should sit or assemble themselves in the Town of* Edinburgh, *but that they should keep their meeting in the Castle and there give their presence.* The Earls of *Angus, Lennox, Arguyl*, Arch-bishop of *Saint Andrews*, Bishop of *Aberdeen* and *Dumblane*, with their adherents, and others, who joined with them rather out of fear than good will, refuse to enter the Castle, and require, *That the Parlament be kept in the accustomed Place, the King may in Triumph be shewn to his own people, conveyed along the High-street.* All which being denyed them, giving out *That Justice was violated, the King kept against his will as a Prisoner, the Government and custody of his person seised on without consent of the three Estates*; they surround the Castle with two thousand men

men in Arms, ſtop all furniture of food and victuals, which ſhould been afforded by the Town. In this diſtreſs they in the Caſtle turn the great Ordinance againſt the Town, and threaten the innocent Citizens with the overthrow of their buildings. Some powder and time ſpent in terrifying the people, at laſt Church-men interpoſing themſelves, and interceding, perſwading with the parties, an accommodation and atonement is wrought, their fury quenched, all rancour ſuppreſt, injuries forgotten, the King in magnificence and pomp is convoyed from the Caſtle to his Palace at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, and the *Eſtates* aſſemble in the wonted place of the Town of *Edenburgh*.

In this Parliament the Authority of the Governour is abrogated, by which means they ſaved him a labour from returning into *Scotland* again; *Eight Lords were choſen to have the cuſtody of the Kings perſon quarterly, every one his Moneths ſucceſſively, and the whole to ſtand for the Government of the State; yet with this Limitation, That the King by their Counſel ſhould not determine, nor ordain any thing in great affairs to which the Queen, as Princeſs and Dowager, gave not her free conſent and approbation.*

The Lords were, the Arch-biſhops of *S. Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkel*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Lennox*, *Arguyl*.

Time urging reſolution, the Lords of Parlament direct the Earl of *Caſſiles* again to the Court of *England* to declare their reſolution concerning the marriage of the King and the eſtabliſhing a Peace between the Kingdoms.

The news of the overthrow of the *French* Army, and the taking of their King at *Pavia* by the Imperialiſts being come to the Court of *England* before the Arrival of the Earl of *Caſſiles*, King *Henry* told the Scotiſh Embaſſadours in plain terms, *He could not determine any thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, without acquainting the Emperour her neereſt Kinſman and his Confederate, with his proceedings, which could not be done in haſt, and ſo ſoon, as they required, conſidering the troubles of Italy.*

Hereupon the Embaſſadours, their hopes of this Alliance delayed, having obtained a Truce between the two Nations for the ſpace of three years and three moneths faithfully to be kept, returned to their own Countrey.

The State began of new to be toſſed by the troubleſome Factions of the Queen and Earl of *Angus*, the Original of which ſprang from matters of the Church; the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-Houſe* falling vacant by the promotion of *George Creightoun* Abbot to the Biſhop-rick of *Dunkell*; the Earl of *Angus*, to whom the cuſtody of the King was truſted, either

by lot or consent, moved him to confer this Abbacy upon his Brother Mr. *William*, Prior of *Coldinham*, without acquainting the Queen with the Gift, or seeking the consent of the other Rulers: at this the Queen turned so displeased, that abandoning the King to the pleasure of the Earl of *Angus*, She with her Followers retired to *Sterlin*. By this unconsiderate retreat the Earl administred all alone, leaning to the greatness of his own power, that some might have thought the Queen set her Game to make up his. All favours and punishments pass by him, All Offices and Places of importance are distributed to his favourites; He made *Archembald Dowglas* his Uncle Treasurer, Sir *George* his Brother Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of *Coldingham* and *Ho'y-rood-house* were in his Brothers hands, neither temporal nor ecclesiastical Dignity escapt him; his greatness instantly procureth him envie.

The Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Arguyl*, *Murray*, who were of the Queens faction, lay a plot to accuse *Angus* of high Treason. They challenge him, *That he kept the King against his will, insolently restrained his Liberty, and that contrary to the order established by the Estates, which was that the custody of his person should every four Moneths by turns be allotted to the Governours of the Countrey in a Circle; That he could not dispose of any thing of moment alone, the contrary of all which he had usurped; whereupon they charge him to dismiss the King, and restore him to them, and the other Counsellours equall in Government with him, under the pain he should be reputed a Traytor and no loyall Subject, for this invassalling his Prince to his attendance.*

The Earl of *Angus* himself to this answered not, but Sir *George* his Brother moved the King to give the answer himself. *His Mother and those other Rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more cheerfully, willingly and contentedly could he live and spend his time than with the Earl of* Angus, *neither could he leave the company of one so highly favored of his Uncle, and so well meriting of himself.*

For all this answer he had secretly sent Letters to his Mother, and those of the adverse party, intreating, *They would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government, and if it could not be otherways done, to accomplish it by main force of arms, if they had any pitty, or if any Sparks of duty remained unquenched in them towards him, if they dared Enterprize ought for a Royal, though now thralled, Supplyant, or obey the Command of a King in Prison; that the answer which he sent before unto them and his Mother was by constraint and compulsion drawn from him, and far from his Mind.*

Upon

Upon this advertiſment the Queen and they of her Faction, aſſemble what power they could raiſe in ſuch a ſuddenneſs at *Sterlin*, and with great expedition marched towards *Edenburgh* to ſeparate the King from the Earl his Guardian; Who, reſolved to repel force by force, with the Townſmen of *Edenburgh*, many friends and adherents, and the King, though againſt his will, marched out of *Edenburgh* to encounter the fight of theſe Rebels. When the Leaders of the Queens forces underſtood the King in perſon was in the adverſe Army, either dazled with the ſplendour of the preſence of a King, or fearing if they joined in battel, the perſon of their Prince might be endangered, or that they found themſelves not ſtrong enough in number and arms for a Conflict, they retired back again to *Sterlin*, where they diſbanded, and returned every man to his own dwelling place: The Queen with the Earl of *Murray* went to *Murray*-land, the Earls of *Arran* and *Arguyl* to the Weſt, the Arch-biſhop of *St. Andrews* to *Dumfermling*.

This Faction diſſipated, the Earl of *Angus* remained more ſtable, and aſſured of his Guardianſhip, and now he findeth no Competitour.

The want of the great Seal being a hinderance to many of his projects, and he diſdaining to be a ſuiter to his enemie; for diſpatch of publick affairs, cauſed the King ſend a Letter for it, and the Arch-biſhop with all reſpect ſent it immediately to the Earl: with whom to be equal he took himſelf to new Meditations.

The Queen many waies provokt by her Huſband the Earl of *Angus*, and laſtly by detaining her Son againſt his will and contrary to the publick courſe agreed upon, the Arch-biſhop perſwaded her *To intend a proceſs of Divorcement againſt him, and diſſolve her marriage; this might produce ſome great effect, at leaſt it could not but diminiſh the Earls reputation among the people.* The Queen and the Earl many times in private between themſelves agreed upon a ſeparation, diſliking each others conditions; for it was fatal to her as to her Brother *King Henry*, to delight in change of Wedlock, and be jealous of her Matches. The Earl is therefore cited before the Arch-biſhop of *St. Andrews* to hear the ſentence pronounced according to the Laws of the Church in thoſe times; at the day appointed he appeareth. The Queen alledged, *He had been betroathed, given his faith and promiſe of marriage to a noble woman of the Kingdom* (*a daughter of* Traquare) *before the marrying of her, and ſo by reaſon of that Precontract he could not be her lawful husband.* The Earl confeſſeth; The Arch-biſhop pronounceth the ſentence of Divorcement, but with this Reſervation and Reſtraint, *That the Child come of the Queen and the Earl*

the time of their marriage by the ignorance of the Mother (the Queen) should not suffer any loss, dammage or disadvantage.

The King of *England* resented highly this Divorcement, endeavour'd by his Letters to hinder it; for he thought some things tolerable in men, which were incompetent and shameful in women, and after never carried such respect to his Sister as he had done before. Of these she made little reckoning, for after the sentence given, she married *Henry Stuart*, Son to the Lord *Eavendale*, whom K. *James* to do honor to his Mother, promoted to be Lord *Meffan*, and General of his Artillery.

Whilst the King remained a shadow to the Earls Government amidst so many distractions, discords and jars of the Grandees, the Court turned solitary and unfrequented by any Noblemen, save these of the *Dowglasses* own faction, amongst which the Earl of *Lennox*, shewed himself most indifferent. For he for his own ends attending the Court, in a short time so framed himself to the Kings humours, that he delighted alone in his conversation, and often hid none of his inward thoughts and secret intentions from him. Among others he many times importuned him to give him a sound advice how he might de delivered from the Earl of *Angus*, of whose bondage he had been long weary, whose rule over him was turned now into tyranny, his ambition having mounted to that height that he was not content to command the Kingdome, but to thrall and keep under his Soveraign Lord the King himself, that the effects of his Governing were the dispersing of his Nobles, and banishing of his mother from him.

The Earl of *Lennox*, who by his familiarity with the King was become suspitious of *Angus*, and had an intention to tumble out a man hated of his Prince, establish himself in his place, and rule the young King alone, aggravating his and the Countreys miseries, told him, after much intreaty, The Lord of *Balclough* was the only person to be imploy'd in such a service; a man of unlimitted desires, displeased, strong in power, mightily hated, and who had inveterate hatred against the Earl of *Angus*, who wanted nothing but opportunity to execute his rancour: If this conceived expioit had not a desired success, then he himself would by main force either win his Prince, or loose his life in the Enterprize. The Laird of *Balclough* secretly advertised of the Kings intention giveth way to much oppression and many insolencies on the borders, the redress of which required the presence of the Prince. Complaints are given against them, and the King to do justice accompanied with the Earls of *Angus*, *Lennox*, Lords *Hume*, *Flamin*, *Areskin*, *Cesfoord*, *Farnehast*,

haſt, and others commeth to *Jed brough*. But when they had ſtaied there ſome daies, ſmall redreſs was of wrongs, no juſtice executed, the chief men of the Borders not producing the Delinquents of their Names, to anſwer according to law as was the antient cuſtom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at *Melroſe* as they hoverd at the paſſage of a Bridge over the *Tweed*, certain companies of men in arms appeared on the Deſcents of *Hellidon* Hill: which being come within diſtance of diſcerning were known to be commanded by the Laird of *Balclough*, and number'd a thouſand all borderers and broken men. The Earl of *Angus*, not a little mov'd at ſo ſudden an apparition, by an Herauld craveth to underſtand their intentions, and how in ſuch a hoſtile manner they dared come ſo near the Kings perſon, withall charging them under pain of high Treaſon to retire. The Laird of *Balcloughs* anſwer was, he came to do the King ſervice, invite him to his houſe, ſhow him what forces he was able to raiſe upon the Borders when neceſſity ſhould require his ſervice and aſſiſtance. That he would not obey a charge contrary to the Kings mind, of which he was conſcious, and herewith he marched forwards. Preſently the Earl alighting on foot, leaving the Earl of *Lennox*, Lords *Areskin*, *Maxwell*, Sir *George Dowglas*, *Ninian Creightoun* with the King as Spectators of the Game, with the Lord *Flammin* and other his Friends, marſhall'd his Men for the Charge, which was given with a great ſhout and clamor of theſe Borderers. The Lord *Hume*, Lards of *Farnehaſt* and *Ceſfoord* had taken their leave of the King who gladly diſmiſt them, but upon advertiſement of the ſudden fray, being not far of they return in haſt with an hundred Launces, in good time for the Earl of *Angus*, and falling upon one of the Wings of *Balcloughs* troups force them to yield ground, and ſome to turn their backs, upon which ſuddenly followeth the Chaſe. *Ceſfoord* and *Farnehaſt*, eagerly perſewing. Here at the deſcent of a little Hill, by the blow of a Launce which a Domeſtick of *Balcloughs* threw from his Arm, the Laird of *Ceſfoord* is ſlain, and by his death the Chaſe left off to be follow'd, and a long deadly fewd between the *Scots* and *Cars* was begun, fourſcore Borderers were kill'd in this bickering aſſiſting *Balclough*, himſelf was wounded with many of his friends, the Earl of *Anguſs* loſt not a few beſides the Laird of *Ceſfoord*.

The Earl of *Angus* after this road of *Melroſs* perceiving his enemies to increaſe, and the affections of ſome of the Nobility turned from him, compoſing the old difference between him and the Earl of *Arran*, entered into condition of a ſtrict friendſhip with him, and was content he ſhould be his partner and fellow-governour in diſtribution of Cauſualities and ru-

ruling the Countrey. When the King had considered how twice his intentions had been broken, and unhappily without success, he began to essay the third by the Earl of *Lennox*, whom challenging of his promise he desired to gather an Army, and joining his Forces with the Queens to restore him to his Liberty. The Earl of *Lennox*, before suspected, after the League and friendship of the Earl of *Angus* with the Earl of *Arran*, became a declared enemy to *Angus*, withdrew himself from Court: and some few Moneths being passed, at *Sterlin* he maketh a Declaration to all the Lieges of his intentions, inviting them to assist and side with his cause. One thousand men came from the High-lands to him, the Earl of *Cassiles* and Master of *Kilmayers* come from the West with two thousand, the Queen and Arch-bishop *James Beatoun*, direct many of their Vassalls from *Fyffe* to him: Thus with three strong Briggades he marcheth towards *Lynlithgow*.

The Earl of *Angus* understanding these preparations to be against him, imploreth the assistance of his best Friends to withstand them, especially the *Carres* and *Humes*, to whose valour he had lately been so far obliged. He sendeth Letters to the Earl of *Arran* and the Gentlemen of the name of *Hamiltoun*, regretting the estate of the Common-wealth, requiring their speedy aid. That in so perilous time setting aside all particular Respects and Quarrels, they would have a care of the Common good of the Countrey. If the Earl of *Lennox* should carry the King from him, and remained Victor of the Field, he would not stay there, his next mark would be the *Hamiltouns*, whom he was in the way to put from all title to the Crown, the report going already that the King would intail it to him out of his own favour, and had designed him Heir to the Earl of *Arran*, he having no children of his own. That the King had a magnetical affection towards him, which, if Fortune favoured him with a Victory, would increase, now meritting which before was but meer favour. The custody of a young King was not for a man of so short experience. The *Hamiltouns* finding that man their Suppliant who late was their Competitor, delighting to live in a troubled State, and be Copartners of the Government and mannaging the affairs of the Kingdom, which was promised them in their new band of Friendship, laying aside all former discontent and grudge accept the Quarrel, and assemble their Forces at *Lynlithgow*. To this Town the Earl of *Lennox* was advancing, and he being the Sisters Son of the Earl of *Arran*, by Gentlemen well affected towards him, and of his kinred, they intreat him to turn back, and not to try the hazard of a battel for a conquest; he could not

long

long enjoy the Government of a young Prince, whom a little more time would make Governour of himself, and who (perhaps) would reward his service with disgrace; It being ordinarily seen that great obligations to Princes procure rather their hatred than love, whilst it is more easie to pay men by contempt than benefits: that if he came forwards, no interest of blood would save him from their just and lawfull stopping of his passage and enterprize. The Earl of *Lennox* answerd, it was no time then in the eye of the world to abandon so just a quarrel, that shame wounded deeper than death, which he would rather imbrace than not see his Prince at *Edenburgh*. And finding the Bridge over the *Avan* possest by the enemy, passed his Companies over the River *Et* near the antient Monastery *Immanuel*; the Maister of *Kill-mayers* guideth the Vantguard, consisting of Westland men; the Earl of *Cassiles* and himself the main Battel, many of which were high-land men, being of all (as some write) ten thousand. The Earl of *Angus* having essayed in vain to bring the King to the Field with the power of *Edenburgh*, leaving that Charge to his Brother Sir *George* and *Archembald Dowglas* Provost of the Town, accompanied with the *Humes* and *Carres*, being of all two thousand, maketh a speedy march towards *Lynlithgow*. But the Earl of *Arran*, spurr'd by the ambition and youthful heat of his Son Sir *James Hamiltoun*, had begun the fight before he could appear; for a long time it is valiantly fought, victory inclining to neither side, till a great clamour arose seconded by the appearance of fresh Troops of enemies, the *Dowglasses* and their Friends, at which alarum many of the High-land and West-land men turned their backs; the rest by the advantage of the place sustain the Fight.

The King, after much loytering and many delaies (having heard the Armies were near joining) and much solicitation of Sir *George Dowglas*, issueth out of *Edenburgh* at a slow march. But when at *Corstorphine* Hills he was awaken'd with the noyse of the great Ordinance, he urgeth his Followers to make all haste to come to the fight. It was reported Sir *George Dowglas* drove his Horse, in a great rage gave him injurious words, which he never after forgot. Being half way he is advertised that the Earl of *Lennox* highland-men were fled, and by all appearance the Earl of *Arran* was Master of the Field. This news perplexed him not a little, but making the best of that worst, he dispatch'd all his domestick Servants with *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, to save so many as they could in the Chase, especially the Earl of *Lennox*, whose life he now tendereth as his Crown. But this Earl after he had been taken by the Laird of *Pardowye*, in cold blood was unnaturally

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ly slain by Sir *James Hamiltoun*, who either killed or wounded on the face all that came under the dint of his Sword in the Rout.

They found the Earl of *Arran* mourning over his Corps, over which he spred his cloak; the Laird of *Howstoun* lay dead by him, the Master of *Killmayers* sore wounded at their comming, maintained the fight, and was by them with difficulty saved, with so many others as either the Kings authority or their power could reskew. This Conflict happened in *September*.

After the victorious Earls had rested their wounded Souldiers, and refreshed themselves in *Lithgow*, they accompany the King to *Sterlin*, and immediately march through *Fyffe* in quest of those who had been the cause of taking arms against them, of which number the Queen was; but the Arch-bishop of *Saint Andrews* was the most eminent, who, as before he had seconded *Arran* to surprize *Angus*, so now he had stirred *Lennox* to the overthrow of them both. Because the Arch-bishop was not to be found (for he (as some record) was turned a true Pastour, and in Shepheards weeds kept sheep on some Hill) they spoiled the Abbacy of *Dumfermling*, and Castle of *St. Andrews*, defacing all the Ornaments, and carryed away the Moveables and stuff in them. The Queen with her Husband *Henry Stuart*, and *James* his brother, betook them to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, which the Lords at their return besieged. The Mother hearing her Son was amongst the Besiegers in person, obtaining favour for her husband and his Brother, caused the Gates to be cast open. But for their safety such who loved them, advised the King to commit them to that place during his pleasure.

Now the Earl of *Angus* and *Arran* summoned all who had born Arms against the King to appear in judgement, and answer according to the Law as Traytors. Some compounded for Sums of money, others became Dependers of the Houses of *Angus* and *Arran*: *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassiles* being summoned and compearing, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinsman answer'd the indictment, that he came not against the King but to assist the King, for proof of which he offered to produce the Kings own Letter. Though the Earl of *Cassiles* escaped the danger of the Law he did not the fury of the Revenge, was taken about some disparaging words; for as he was returning home, he was surprized in the way and killed; Some write by the Sheriff of *Aire*, but by the direction of Sir *James Hamiltoun*.

About this time the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, and other Church-men in revenge of the spoiling of his Houses, and persuing himself, for questions of Religion, burn the Earl of

Arrans

Arrans brothers Son Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, and banish Mr. *Patricks* brother *James* Sheriff of *Lithgow*.

Not long after, mens wrath by time diminishing and their bloud growing colder, the Arch-bishop having bestowed on the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *George* his Brother, and other their Friends, some Church benefices and many Leases of Tyths, was reconciled unto them, and with appearance of great friendship they mutually entertained and feasted each others at the *Christ-Mass* in the City of *S. Andrews*. But small confidence could be long among reconciled enemies.

Now went every thing as the earl of *Angus* could have wished, he was not only entire and familiar with the Kings person, but with his Office; some of his enemies were dead, others overthrown in open Field, with the rest he was reconciled. No faction for power or riches was equal to his; Nor remained there any Castle or Fortress not seised on by him, and garrisoned with his Friends and Followers, except the Castle of *Sterlin*, a part of the Queens Dowry, which being desolate by her Miseries, and only haunted by some of her poorest and meanest Servants, was neglected by the Earl, which in him was a great errour, the fitness of the place for a revolution and change of Court considered. Many daies the Earl had not seen his own dwelling Places, nor thought upon his private affairs, being carryed away by the storms of Court, now he thinketh he may securely pass to *Lothian*, whilst at *Faulkland* the King shall be safely entertained by his Brother Sir *George*, *Archembald* his Uncle, and *James* of the *Parkhead* Captain of the Guards; having earnestly entreated their attendance on the King, he crosseth the *Forth*, with resolution soon to return. His departing was not so concealed, but the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* had knowledge of it, and he inviteth *Sir George to see him in his City of* St. Andrews, *to receive the Leases of the Tyths promised, all now perfected, valid, and according to Law sufficient.* Whilst Sir *George* is here detained, *Archembald* the Treasurer by other Letters, for matters of love, is inticed to *Dundee*; But nothing could make the Captain of the Guards leave his Charge. The King amidst his solitary Walks in his Park of *Faulkland* considering of what a tedious Train he was relieved, and how suddenly occasion might turn her bald scalp, if presently he took not hold of her, resolveth to accomplish by Stratagem, what the Factions of his Nobles could not perform by force. It is delightful to understand every particular circumstance in the progress of the actions of Princes. Upon this resolution he directeth *the Forrester of the Park to give advertisement to such Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next morning to attend him, for he would early have*

his Game. He ſuppeth ſooner than his cuſtom was, entertaining the Captain of the Guards with more than uſual ceremonies and repreſentations of the next mornings ſport, withall *inviting him to go to his reſt, the Night being ſhort about the Summer ſolſtice.* The Waiters all ſhifted and the Court huſht, ſhutting his Chamber door, in the apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceiv'd he paſſed the Guard to the Stable; where with two who attended him, with ſpair Horſes he poſted to *Sterlin*, where by the Queens intelligence he was expected in the Caſtle.

When the certainty of this eſcape was noiſed abroad, many Noblemen repair to *Sterlin*, ſome by Letters ſent unto them, others at the rumour of his evaſion, that in a little time he found him ſafe and far from any danger again to be ſurprized, the Earls of *Arguyl*, *Atholl*, *Glencarn*, *Monteeth*, *Huntley*, The Lords *Graham*, *Drummond*, *Levingſtoun*, *Sainclaire*, *Lindſay*, *Evandale*, *Ruthen*, *Maxwell*, *Simple*, the Earl of *Eglintoun*, *Rotheſs*, *James Beatoun* Arch-biſhop of *St. Andrews*, the Deviſer of his eſcape. The Earl of *Angus* full of miſs giving thoughts, with many of his Friends, was alſo on his way to *Sterlin*; but Proclamations being made againſt him, *Diſcharging him from all Offices and publick functions, and being by an Herauld forbidden with his friends and followers to come near the Court by ſome Miles, under pain of Treaſon:* either moved by inward terrours, or love of the Peace of his Countrey, turned back to *Linlithgow*, where two days he attended News of the Kings pleaſure, which at laſt was declared, *That neither he nor none of his ſhould preſume by ſome Myles to approach his reſidence.* The more particular favours were, *That the Earl ſhould confine himſelf beyond the River of* Spay *in the North, whilſt his Brother*, *Sir* George Dowglaſs, *ſhould render himſelf Priſoner in the Caſtle of* Edenburgh, *and there remain during the Kings pleaſure.* When the *Dowglaſſes* had refuſed theſe offers, they are cited to anſwer according to Law in a Parlament to be holden in *September* at *Edinburgh*.

Before the day of appearing the Earl of *Angus* accompanied with an able Train of his Friends and Followers eſſayeth to enter the Town of *Edenburgh*, and there attend the comming of the King; but by the Lord *Maxwell*, and the L. of *Lochinvarre*, who in the Kings name had inveſted the Town, he is kept out, and the King with an unexſpected ſuddenneſs, with two thouſand men comming from *Sterlin*, he removed. The Earl not appearing at the appointed day, is by Decree of Parlament attainted and forfeited, with his brother Sir *George Dowglas*, *Archembald Dowglas* his uncle, *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, and others.

The points of which they were to be accuſed, were, *The*

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assembling of the Kings Lieges with intention to have assailed his person; The detaining of the King against his will and pleasure, and contrary to the Articles agreed upon the space of two years and more; all which time the King was in fear and danger of his life. At this Parlament (some write) the King made a solem oath never to give a Remission to any of the *Dowglasses* there forfeited, as the Lords did never to intercede nor request for any of them: and in disgrace of the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Stuart* who had married the Queen his wife, was created *Lord Methan.*

The *Dowglasses* having all favour denyed them, being openly declared Enemys to the King and Countrey, commit all hostility, (the last refuge of desperate men) on their enemies bounds, *Caust-land* and *Cranstoun* are burned, they ravage even to the Gates of *Edenburgh*, the harmless people suffering for the faults of the great; under shadow of their followers all robberies and oppressions brack forth, and by whomsoever committed are laid to their charge. The King will not hear of them in any other terms than Oppressours and common Robbers. In their defence they fortifie their Castle of *Tantallon* with the readiest provision taken from the neareſt adjacent bounds. In *October* the King raiseth a great company of Souldiours, with great Ordinance, and other Engins of War brought from the Castle of *Dumbar*, *Tantallon* is besieged, but proveth impregnable; and *David Faulconer* the General of the Ordinance at their removing is slain. A Commission is sent to the Earl of *Bothwell*, as the Kings Lieutenant, to invade with Fire and Sword in all places the *Dowglasses*, which he, either out of human compassion, or that he knew wise Statesmen should extenuate the faults of others rather than aggravate them, refused to accept. But the Earl of *Argyl* and Lord *Hume* accepted that charge, prosecute them where they might be apprehended, till after much misery and night-wandring at home, they were constrained with *Alexander Dummond* of *Carnock*, who had been partaker of their misfortunes by his consanguinity with the Earls Mother, who was Daughter to the Lord *Drummond*, to fly into *England*, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by King *Henry* the eight.

Now are the Offices and Lands of the *Dowglasses* disposed upon; the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Gaven Dumbar* is made Chancelour, *Robert Barroun*, who was in especial favor with the King, Treasurer, great Customer General of the Artillery and Mines, and other their Charges are given unto others.

The King of *England* intending a War against the Empe-

rour *Charles* the fifth, sendeth Embassadours to *Scotland* for a certain time to treat a peace, and if it were possible to reconcile the *Dowglasses* with the King. Five yerrs truce was resolved upon; but for the *Dowglasses*, the King would hearken to no offers; onely *Alexander Drummond* by the intercession of *Robert Bartoun*, and the Embassadours, had liberty to return home. When the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Murrey*, who had full power to conclude a Truce, had met the other Commissioners upon the Borders, the factious great men and ranck Ryders there, put all in such a confusion by urging difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any articles or certain conclusions: which the King took in so evil a part, that divining from what head this interruption sprung, he committed sundry Noblemen to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, till they gave hostages, and secured the borders from invasion or being invaded. In the Moneth of *June* following with a great power he visited these bounds, executing Justice upon all Oppressours, Theeves and Out-Laws. In *Ewsdale* eight and fourty notorious Riders are hung on growing Trees, the most famous of which was *John Arm-strong*; others he brought with him to *Edenburgh* for more publick execution and example, as *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, *Adam Scot* of *Tushelaw*, named King of Theeves.

The year 1530. the King instituted the College of Justice; before it was ambulatory, removing from place to place by Circuits; Suits of Law were peremptorly decided by Baylies, Sheriffs, and other Judges; when any great and notable cause offered it self, it was adjudged Soveraignly by the Kings Council, which gave free audience to all the Subjects. The power and privileges of this College was immediately confirmed by Pope *Clement* the seventh.

In this Court are fifteen Judges ordinary, eight of them being spiritual persons, of the which the most antient is President, and seven Temporal men: The Chancellour of the Realm when he is present is above the President. There are also four Counsellours extraordinary, removable at the Princes pleasure.

This institution is after that *Order* of Justice which is administred in *Paris*, first instituted by *Philip the fourth*, the *French King* the year 1286.

The King about this time storeth his *Arsenals* with all sort of *Arms*; the Castles of *Edenburgh*, *Sterlin*, *Dumbartoun*, *and Blackness*, are repaired and furnisht with Ordnance and Ammunition.

Whilst no certain Truce is concluded between the Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, the Earl of *Angus* worketh in this interim

interim so with the King of *England*, that Sir *Eaward Darcey* is sent to the Borders; who when his solicitation for restoring the Earl, at the *Scotish* Court had taken no effect, yea had been scorned, after he had staied at *Berwick*, with the Garrisoned Souldiers, and some selected companies out of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* maketh a Road into *Scotland*; *Coldingham*, *Dunglas*, and adjacent Villages they burn, ravage the Countrey towards *Dunce*. Some Scottish Ships and Vessels were also at this time taken by Sea. When a reason was sought of this invasion in a cessation of Arms, and calm of Truce; *They require the* Dowglasses *may be restored to their antient inheritances, and whatsoever had been withheld from them, and that* Cannabie (*a poor Abbacy*) *be rendred to the Englisb, as appertaining of old to the Crown of* England. The Earl of *Murray* being declared Lieutenant maketh head against them: but the *Englisb* dayly increasing in number, and his companies not being sufficient to make good against so many and large incursions, the power of *Scotland* is divided into four Quarters every one of which for the durance of fourty daies by turns taketh the defence of the Countrey. The *Englisb* finding by this intercourse of new Souldiers the War to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of Peace, but they disdained to sue for it to the *Scots*: it was thought expedient that the *French*, a Friend then to both, should be a Mediatour to reconcile them, whereupon, after an Ambassador had come from *France*, Commissioners first meet at *Newcastle* and after at *London*, *James Colvil* of Easter *Weyms*, *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall*, *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, the Abbot of *Kinloss*. These conclude a Peace *To continue between the two Realms, during the two Princes lives, and one year after the decease of him who should first depart this life.*

About this time the secrets of the Ecclesiastical Doctrine and Authority beginning to be laid open to the view of the World, the politick Government of Kingdomes began to suffer in the alteration and discovery. The Lady *Katherine* daughter to *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, and Sister to the Mother of *Charles* the fifth Emperour, had been married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, eldest Sonne to *Henry* the seventh King of *England*, he dying, by the dispensation of Pope *Julius* the second, her Father in Law gave her again in Marriage to *Henry* his other Son, the Brother of *Arthur*. This Queen though fruitful of children, and often a Mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed life, and came to any perfection of growth, except one onely Daughter *Mary*. Her Husband either out of spleen against the Emperour *Charles*, or desire of male children, or other Causes known to himself, *pretended great scruples in his conscience, would*

would make himself and the world believe, that his marriage was not lawfull. After deliberation with his Churchmen, whom he constrained to be of his mind, he kept not longer company with his Queen; his Churchmen used all their eloquence to make the Queen accept of a Divorce, which she altogether refused, and had her recourse to the Pope, who recals the cause to himself. At *Rome*, whilst in the consistory, the case is made difficult, and the matter prolonged. King *Henry* impatient of delaies, and amorous, divorceth from his own Queen and marrieth *Anne Bullen* 1533.

Then the Pope with his whole Cardinals gave out their Sentence, That it was not lawful for him by his own authority, to separate himself from his wife; that his marriage with *Katharine* was most lawful, not to be questioned, and that under pain of Excommunication he should adhere unto her.

King *Henry* well experienced in the great affairs of the World, considering how the threatnings and thunders of the Bishops of *Rome*, even in these antient and innocent times when they were believed and reverenced, in his Kingdom produced never great effects, thought them to no purpose in a time when a Doctrine was publisht to the World, embraced and believed of numbers, by which they were contemned and scorned: upon this and other grounds he refuseth to obey, and the Pope continueth his menacing.

This disorder and boldness of the King of *England* moved the Emperour and the Pope to try if they could win the King of *Scotland* to arise in arms against his Uncle King *Henry*. The Emperour essayeth it under pretence of other business of great importance. For having given way to new opinions in Religion amongst his Countreymen of *Germany*, and finding them mounted to that height as to have produced the effects he desired, [by this division laying a foundation to turn the Imperial Crown Hereditary to his own House, which, *Germany* being all of one mind and undistracted, he could never have brought to pass] he compelleth the Bishop of *Rome* to condescend to a general Council or Assembly of the Clergy of *Europe*, the only and soveraign remedie to cure diseased minds, and accord different opinions: but he knew well that by the Church of *Rome*, men would be delegated to this meeting, turbulent, and so far from pacifying tumults began, that instead of Water they would apply Oyl and Wood to these flames, turn opinions before disputable, irreconciliable, and leave matters worse than they found them. Having implored the aid and assistance of the Potentates about him to the setting forward of so pious and holy a work, he sendeth *Goddescallo Errico* (a *Sicilian*) for greater secre-

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cie by *Ireland* to the King of *Scotland*.

This Embaſſadour for a token of that affection the Emperour his Maſter carryed to the perſon and virtues of King *James*, preſenteth him with the Order of the Golden-fleece 1534. with ſolemn Proteſtations for the obſerving of theſe antient Leagues and Confederacies contracted between the Princes his Maſters Predeceſſours and the Kings of *Scotland*, to continue ever amongſt themſelves.

His other inſtructions were *Plaints of the wrongs done to his Aunt* Katharine, *moſt injuſtly repudiate and forſaken by a King forſaken of God and abhorred of men. The marriage of* Ann Bullen *ſhould wound deeply King* James, *it being likely by her Succeſſion he ſhould be barred of his Right to the Crown of* England: *The Emperour by his Ambaſſadour expoſtulating the wrongs of his Aunt, had gained nothing, but that for his ſake Shee was the worſe entertained. To make more ſtrong and laſting the Emperours friendſhip with King* James, *he (if he pleaſed) would make him an offer and give him the choice of three Ladies, three* Maries, *all of the Imperial Stem:* Mary *of* Auſtria *the Emperours Siſter, the Widow of* Lovis *King of* Hungary; Mary of *Portugall, the Daughter of his Siſter* Eleonara *of* Auſtria: Mary *of* England *the Daughter of* Katharine *and King* Henry. *And would undertake the performance of this laſt, either by conſent of her Father, or by main force. The greateſt but laſt of his inſtructions was that to ſuppreſs the Hereſies of the time he would concur with the Emperour for the convocating a General Council, and obviate the calamities then threatning the Chriſtian Religion.*

The King with great cheerfulneſs and many thanks, that the Emperour entertained him with ſuch reſpect, and held him worthy ſo fair and Royal Allyance, and the participation of affairs of ſuch importance and moment, received this Embaſſage.

For the Council, providing it were a general Council lawfully convocated by the Emperour and Chriſtian Kings, as the firſt Councils were wont, free and holy (as nothing is more holy than a general convocation of Chriſtians) the moſt charitable and quiet of the Clergy, and ſuch who would pacifie matters, not the moſt zealous and fiery Spirits, or men corrupted by rewards being delegated unto it, being premoniſht of the time and place, he would apply his will unto his, aſſiſt him, thither ſend his beſt Oratours and moſt convenient Church-men. That if a true Council could not be obtained, every Prince ſhould reform the Errors of Doctrine and faults of the Clergy within his own Dominions.

The proceedings of his Uncle were grievous unto him, being a man altogether thralled to his own opinions. For the Good of the Chriſtian Religion and Peace of Europe, *it were expedient that all her Princes were united together in amity and love, and their*

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Arms directed against the common enemy the Turk. *For himself he would be Mediatour to reconcile the Emperour and his Uncle, endeavour to recall him to the love of his Wife, nor by any perswasions to be induced to condescend to ought prejudicial to Queen* Katharine.

The three Ladies were every one in the superlative worthy, especially Mary *of* England, *for that great reason of uniting the Isle of* Great Britain, *but she was not in her own power, nor in the power of the Emperour, that he could bestow her upon whom he pleased. That to ravish her out of the hands of her Father would be, beside the danger of the Enterprize, a breach of Divine and humane Lawes.*

It was not safe for Paris *that he preferred one of the three Goddesses to the other two, for prizing those three (that the Emperour might know how dearly he respected and earnestly affected his affinity) there remained a fourth Lady neer in blood to the Emperour,* Isabella *Daughter of* Christian *King of* Denmark, *and* Isabella *the Emperours own Sister, whom, besides her matchless virtues, for the vicinity of the Nation to his, and the conformity of their harmless humours, he made choice to be Queen of his affections and Dominions.*

Godscallo answered this last, *That a match with Lady* Isabella *of* Denmark *could not with the Emperours credit be brought to pass, because she was promised already to another,* Frederick *Count Palatine, and the marriage might be accomplished before news came to the Emperour of the Kings election.*

This choice of the Kings was but an evasion, for Sir *Thomas Areskin* of *Brichen* Secretarie, and *David Beatoun* Abbot of *Arbroth*, under pretence of renewing the League between *France* and *Scotland* long before had been directed to *France* about a Marriage with the eldest Daughter of King *Francis*, which *John* Duke of *Albany* projected when the League between the two Kingdoms was renewed at *Rochell*.

Henry King of *England* had now renounced all obedience from the Bishop of *Rome*, and thorough his whole Dominions abrogated his authority, and *Paul* the third after his assuming the Papacy, set forwards by the Emperour and his Cardinals, who thought either to recover *England* or burnt it up by a Foreign or civil war, never left thundring against him. But after *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* was beheaded (a man imprisoned for adhering to the Pope, then for his persecution, and that the king might carry him the greater respect, made Cardinal) the whole Conclave stir the Pope against *King Henry*. And full of Grief and rage remonstrate what danger would follow their Order if this Example unpunisht should have way. They maintained the Papal power against all Princes, which now for fear of their Lives they would be for-

forced to forlake, or to proceed with great timorousnes and neglect, if by any secular power they might be called in Judgment and embrue Scaffolds with their blood. The Pope, though highly provokt, parted not from his Resolution, yet used a sort of moderation; he threatneth still to let fall the blow, in the mean time holding his hand.

Thus to give satisfaction to his Court, he formed a Process against King *Henry* and a most severe sentence, but abstained from the publication of it during his pleasure; Secretly sending many copies of it to those Princes he thought could be useful to his Designs when occasion should serve, and he proceed with a constant rumor of the Bull shortly to be put in execution and publisht.

Amongst many interested in wrongs by the King of *England*, considering there was none comparable to the Nation and King of *Scotland*, he directeth hither *John Antonio Compeggio*; This Legate findeth King *James* at *Faulkland* 22. *February* 1535. and here with many Ceremonies and Apostolical Benedictions, delivereth him a *Cap and a Sword, consecrated the Night of the Nativity of our Saviour: which the fame of his valour and many Christian virtues had moved his Master to remunerate him with. Also* (saith the Original) *that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighboring Prince against whom the Sword was sharpned.*

The Popes Letter in most submissive stile contained, *A Complaint for the death of* John *Bishop and Cardinall of* Rochester, *miserably taken away by the hand of an Hang-man. The Calamities of* England *occasioned by the Kings Divorce from* Katharine *of* Spain, *and his Marriage with* Anne Bullen; *That since the* Roman *Church had received great disgrace and a deadly wound, and by patience procured more and more wrongs from the King of* England, *She was constrained to use a searing Iron. For the application of which She had recourse to his Majesty, a Prince for his Ancestours piety and his own renowned. His aid, maintenance, protection she implored; Since King* Henry *was a Despiser, a Scorner, One who set at naught the censures of the Church: an Heretick, Shismatick, a shameful and Shameless Adulterer, a publick and professt homicide Murtherer, a Sacrilegious Person, a Church-Robber, a Rebel guilty of lese-Majesty divine, outragious, many and innumerable waies a Fellon, a Criminal: By all Laws herefore justly to be turned out of his Throne: The King of* Scotland *for the Defence of the Church would undertake somthing worthy a Christian King and himself: he would endeavour to suppress Heresie, defend the Catholick faith against those whom the justice of almighty God, and judgments were now prepared and already ready to be denounced.*

The King kindly entertaining the Legate, answered the Pope with much regret for the estate and stubbornness of the King of *England*. Who would not be struck with Pitty that a King who late amongst Christian Princes was honoured with the title of *Defender of the Faith*, should be obnoxious to so many crimes, that now amongst Princes he could scarce be reputed a Christian? This compassion was common to him with others, but he by a necessity of Nature, and neerness of blood felt a more piercing sorrow; he should leave no means untryed to recal his Uncle to the obedience of the Church: and though by his Embassadours, he had once or twice went about the same, but in vain, he would study a way how face to face he might give him his best counsel, and remonstrate how much good he would do the Christian World and himself by returning again to the Church. Mean while he requested him not to be heady, forward nor rash in executing the Sentence against his Uncle, which would but obdure him in his separation.

King *James* not having lost all hopes of his Uncle, directeth the Lord *Arskin* to *England*, to acquaint him with the Emperours and Popes Embassages; and to take his Counsel about a marriage with the Duke of *Vandosms* Daughter whom the *French* King had offered to him, his own Daughter being weak and sickly. In this Embassage there was a complaint against the *Londoners, who in their passage to the Island fishing, spoyled the Coasts of* Orknay *and the adjacent Islands: with a Request that King* Henry *would not succour the* Lubeckers *against the Duke of* Hulstein.

The King of *England* not to prove inferiour to the Emperour and Pope in conferring honours upon his Nephew, admitteth him to the Fraternity of the *Garter*, which he delivered to the Lord *Areskin* his Embassadour. And thereafter dispatched *William* Lord *Howard*, brother to the Earl of *Norfolk* (as if that name were a sufficient Scar-crow to the Popes Sword and the Emperours *Golden fleece*) to *Scotland*, who made such hasty journeys that he prevented the News of his comming, and at unawares found the King at *Sterlin*. The Substance of his embassage was, That the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* might have an interview at *York*, at which meeting the King of *Scotland* should be declared Duke of *York*, and General Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *England*. That his Master having instructions of the Alliances offered him by neighbour Princes, did offer to his own and his Counsels, judgements if they could find a more fit, than to contract a marriage with his Daughter, which might be easily perfected if his Master and King *James* could condescend upon some few points.

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When the King had taken these Propositions into deliberation, the Church-men suspecting if this meeting and match had way, the King would embrace the opinions of the new Reformers, set all their wits to overthrow it. The neerest Successors to the Crown, covering their claim and interest, argued, *That to marry the Lady* Mary *of* England *who for many years would not be mariagable was not a right way to continue his race by procreation of children, and that his impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marying a Child. That King* Henry *projected this mariage to no other end than to hinder him from better Allyances, or to facilitate an entry to the kingdom. That when a Prince would take advantage of any neighbor Prince, it was more safely done by alliance than open force. That it was more safely King* Henry, *being a wary Prince, never meant to mary his Daughter at all as long as himself lived, but to keep her at Home with him, bearing many Princes in hand to save him from Dangers both at home and abroad: which counsel was practised lately by the Duke of* Burgundy.

Most oppose neither to the meeting of the two Kings, nor to the Alliance, but to the place of their meeting, which seemed unto them of no small importance being in the heart of *England*, and amidst the most martial people of that Nation.

They require the two Kings might have their interview at Newcastle, *this place, when they meet, being most commodious for furnishing all necessaries by Ships; That the number of their Trayn should be agreed upon, as one thousand, which none of th, two Kings should exceed. That the time should be at the Feast of Saint* Michael *the Arch-Angel, between the Harvest and the Winter, which would hast the consummation of the Ceremonies, and not suffer the Kings to prolong time, but invite their return to their own chief and principal Cities.* When it was declared to the *Lord Howard*, that the consent of the Nobles of the Kingdom obtained, the enterview at the Feast of *Michaelmas* at *Newcastle* might be condescended unto; he would neither accept of the place nor time, *His Master having already (as matter he had never put in question) made great preparations for this interview at* York, *that he would think his offers slighted and an affront put upon him, if any excuses were alleged to the contrary*: Thus with some bravadoes to the Council he departed.

The King to give satisfaction to his Uncle of his Councils proceedings with the Lord *Howard*, sendeth after him Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Red-hall*, who laieth the fault of his not appearing upon the Lord *Howard*, complaining, *That he menaced the Counsellours, and would have forced their votes; that he was a great Friend to Sir* George Dowglasse *and other Rebels, who convoyed him to* Scotland, *and accompanyed him*

back again. It was against the credit and honour of free born Princes to be threatned, what was friendly begun should friendly continue and end: Princes should not be constrained, especially in matters which were not of Debt but benevolence.

Amidst these importunities and solicitations King *James* with five well manned Ships taketh the Seas, giving out a Voyage for *France*; and the *French* record it was his first adventure to come to them: but it is more likely this proceeded from Policy of State, to try the affections and demeanour of the great ones of his kingdome in his absence, rather than any intended voyage towards Forainers. For with this Fleet he arriveth at *Orkenay*, there in some Forts placeth garrisons, sails about the Islands of *Sky* and *Lewes*, surprizeth the chief of the Clannes of those Highland Islanders, whom he sent for Hostages to the Castles of *Dumbartoun* and *Edenburgh*. And when by the skill of one *Alexander Lyndsay* his Pilote, he had sounded the remotest Rocks of his Kingdom, he was driven by storms to take Land at *Saint Ninians* neer *Whitehorn* in *Galloway*. This Voyage bread great fear in those Islanders and Savages, and brought long Peace and quietness to those Countreys thereafter. At his Return to *Edenburgh* for *Disorders* committed or surmised in his absence, most part of the great Men neer the *Borders* are charged to enter their persons in Ward during the *Kings* pleasure. *Walter Scot of Balclough* is committed to the Castle of *Edenburgh*, the *Lord Hume* to the Castle of *Down*, *Farnehast* to *Faulkland*, the *Laird* of *Johnstoun* and *Mark Car* to *Dundee*: and others elsewhere. He knew the common *Riders* never made incursions without either the command or tollerance of these Superiours.

The remote High-lands and Borderers made peaceable by the incarcerations of the Chiefs of the Clannes and Families there commanding, he may when occasion is offered in person visite any neighbour Prince or State. To second his former Embassadours in their suit in *France* he had sent the Earl of *Murray*, *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, with others: and King *Francis* in regard of the indisposition of his Daughter *Magdalen*, had made an offer to them of his neatest kinswoman.

The Kings mind having been long troubled with youthful thoughts by the many matches offered him; and thinking marriages contracted and trusted to the eyes of others, one way or other deficient, resolveth to go in person and woe for himself. Upon this resolution he imbarked at *Leith*, concealing the intention of his Voyage; many suppose he maketh for *England* to pacify his Uncle, for many wished the same: Whilst he is on the Ocean, the Winds

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contrarying his course, a violent Tempest separating his Ships, the Pilote asketh him to what Coast he should direct his Course; To any thou best likest (answered the King) except towards *England*; the storm encreasing and sleep shutting up the Kings eyes, these who accompanyed him, command the Pilote to turn sails again for *Scotland*, and not struggle with the pittiless Element for matters which might be delayed, and a little time could not turn worse: so when the King awoke, he found himself neer his own Harbours upon the *Forth*, and was so highly displeased with the Authors of his return that he never pardoned them: the fault was laid on Sir *James Hamiltoun*, and to stir him more against this Man, there wanted not who said, *His obedience to his Prince was dissembled, that he accompanyed his Master to no other end in his voyage than to cross his intentions so far as was in his power.*

The season thereafter being more fit for Navigation, he ascendeth again his Ships at *Kirkcaldie*, and with a prosperous wind the tenth day after arrived at *Deep* in *Normandy*; The Earls of *Arran*, *Arguyl*, *Rothess*, *Arroll*, Lords *Flamin*, *Boyd*, attended him, with many Barons and Knights: the Earl of *Murray*, young *Lennox* and *Cassiles*, the Lord *Areskin*, and Abbot of *Arbroth* expected him at *Paris*; but he, preventing the fame of his comming, with a small Trayn holdeth his way to *Vandosm*, to see the Lady *Mary* of *Burbon*, all which way one *John Tennant* personating the Lord of the Company, he passed undescryed. But come to *Vandosm*, whether the Lady had a Letter for the same from *David Beatoun*, or that by matching the faces of one of those Strangers with a Pourtraict she had of *King Iames*, in likeness (as she said) he was found out, and challenged by the Lady of that fault, which was easily confess'd and pardoned? He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all Princely excellencies, but bethinking how he having choice of three Princesses, all Daughters of *Kings*, if he should fix his affection on this Lady at the first interview, he should be obnoxious to the indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards *Rouen*, where his Nobles attended him, and having understood *King Francis* was to give the Emperour Battel in *Provence*, quitting his Retinue, he posted towards him. The *Daulphine* meeteth him at the Chappel between *Tarray* and *St. Sophorin* in the Countrey of *Lions*. *King Francis* receiveth him with as much honour as could be desired, and convoyeth him to *Paris*; the Peers of the kingdom haste from all quarters hither to entertain this Stranger Prince, and the Court is changed into an Academy of Knightly exercise, where *King Iames* proveth inferi-

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our to none in feats of Arms. *Magdalen* the *Kings* eldeſt Daughter is his Miſtreſs, a Lady fair, young, of a lovely countenance, and comely behaviour, above all others of the kingdom. The Lady *Margarite* her younger Siſter (who after was marryed to the Duke of *Savoy*) is offered to him, by reaſon of the tender and weak diſpoſition of her Siſter: but *Magdalen* by the glaunces of her Princely Woer reobtaining her health (her body as it were following the Temperature of her Spirit, or that it appeared to her ſelf and her Father ſo) *King James* continuing in his firſt reſolution, the marriage is contracted between them, an hundred thouſand Crowns of the Sun being promiſed in Dowry, beſides thirty thouſand Franks of yearly penſion during the life of King *Iames*; the jointure aſſured to her by the King of *Scotland*, was all the lands poſſeſſed by any former Queen, the Earldoms of *Strathern* and *Fyfe* with the Palace of *Faulkland*, and other lands of the beſt and moſt certain revenue.

Thus *Anno* [illegible] in the Church of *Noſtre-Dame* in *Paris*, the King of *Scotland* maryed the Lady *Magdalen* in preſence of her *Father*, ſeaven *Cardinals*, the King of *Navarr*, many great *Dukes* and *Barons*.

King *Francis* after the Solemnities of this *Marriage*, having *Piccardy* and *Piedmont* then *over-run* by the *Imperialiſts*; and King *James* fearing he might ſuffer wrong in his abſence from the King of *England*, with aſſurance of mutual Amity, part from other in the end of *April*, and from *New-haven* the Queen with her husband the 29. of *May* arrives at the Port of *Leith*; it is reported that after ſhe put her foot on the Shore upon her knees ſhe kiſſed the ground, *Praying for all happineſs, to the Countrey and people.* Never Queen in ſo ſhort a time was more beloved of her Huſband, nor ſooner made conqueſt of the hearts of her Subjects: Nor was their greater hopes conceived of any alliance than of this, nor greater joy did ever ariſe for thoſe hopes, but as in the life of man there is ever remaining more of bitter than ſweet: ſo were theſe contentments but Shadows, matched with the real Sorrow that the death of that young Lady brought forth. For ſhe lived not many weeks after her Arrivall in *Scotland*, when of a Feaver, which ſhe contracted in *June*, ſhe departed this life in *July*: She was buried with the greateſt mourning *Scotland* ever till that time was participant of, in the Church of *Holy-rood-houſe* neer King *Iames* the ſecond.

Theſe laſt honours to the dead Queen and funeral pomp finiſhed, the King (deſirous of Succeſſion) hath yet his thoughts wandring in *France*; *Mary* of *Burbon* daughter to *Charls* Duke of *Vandoſm*, being fruſtrate of her Royal hopes, had

had not onely turned religious, but was dead of displeasure. Whilst he disported himself at the Court of *France*, he had been acquainted with a Lady rich in all excellencies, who next *Magdalen* had the power of his affections, *Mary* of *Lorrain* Sister to *Francis*, Daughter to *Rhene*, Duke of *Guize*, and Widdow of the Duke of *Longueville*: Her he thinketh for hir Stemm, healthful complexion, fertility (for she had been a mother) and other fortunes, worthy of his love. But to try her affection towards him, he directeth *David Beatoun* his late paranymph, and the Lord *Maxwell* to *France*. Whilst they traffique this Marriage, many false accusations (as Plots laid against his person) are intended one after another at the Court, amongst which two are remarkable for their notable calumny.

Iohn eldest Son to the Lord *Forbes*, a young Gentleman chief of his name, hardy and valorous, but evil brought up, and therefore easily suspect to be capable of sin, had for a Servant or companion, and ordinary sharer of his pleasures, one named *Strachan*, a man come of the dreg of the people, and perfectly wicked. This man after much familiarity, and some secret service and attendance, to satiate his insatiable desire, desired earnestly something from the Master of *Forbes*, which he passionately refused to give him, upon which, carryed away with rage and malice, he not onely renounced his friendship and service, but betook himself to the Service of his Enemy the Earl of *Huntley*: by whose advice he forgeth a malitious Plot to overthrow him. To compass their design they accuse the Master of *Forbes* to have had once an intention and Mind to kill the King, that the *Dowglasses* might be restored to their wonted honors and antient possessions. By price and prayers witnesses are procured to prove this against him, and convict him, or at the least to leave him suspected and taxed with this Treason. Though this crime was not sufficiently and clearly proved, yet was the Master of *Forbes* indicted, and convicted by an Assize, for having conspired the Kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quarter'd, and his Quarters set aloft upon the Gates of *Edenburgh*.

This Gentlemans death proveth how dangerous the Society and company of the wicked is to any; for ascending the fatal Scaffold, he justifyed his innocency of what was laid to his Charge, but confessed the guilt of the Laird of *Drummes* bloud by the justice of God brought him to that end. His Father the Lord *Forbes* was upon suspition kept long after in the Castle of *Edenburgh*. The King when he could not amend what was past, testifyed he was grieved at the death of this Nobleman; for he banished *Strachan*, because he had so long

long concealed the Treason of *Forbess*, silence in a matter importing no less than the life of a Prince, being reckoned equal to the Treason, he made his second brother one of his Domesticks, restoring him to the estate which was forfeited.

This thunderclap was immediately followed by another, for the quality of the person, and strangeness of the crime deplorable, but more for the horrour and terrour of the punishment.

Iane Dowglas sister to *Archembald* Earl of *Angus*, the Widdow of *Iohn Lyon* Lord *Glammes*, with her Husband *Archembald Campbell* of *Keepneeth*, her young Son the Lord *Glammes*, and an old Priest, were brought to *Edenburgh*, committed, and accused that they should have poisoned the King. Their accuser was *William Lyon* a kinsman of the late Lord *Glammes*. This treason had no probability of truth among such who knew the accused, being persons who lived far from the Court in their solitary mansions, seldom or never almost seeing the King. Nevertheless their accusations were believed, and strict command given to the Judges to dispatch their Process.

William Lyon aggravating the case represented to the King *the antient faults of the Family of the Dowglasses, committed against his Predecessors, the particular wrongs of Earl* Archembald, *now stirring the* English *against him, and ravaging his Borders; That he should believe, he not being able to be restored to his first estate by prayers and solicitations of Neighbour Princes, nor by open force, now set on work his last engines to come to his end, though it were with the life of his Soveraign; That in so secret and dangerous a Plot he could not use but his neerest kindred; a Woman, and his own Sister, might attempt such a mischief, her sex and other qualities making her less suspect to have access to his person.*

Suppose cleer proofs could not be found against her, the whole race of the Dowglasses *should be extirpate, being a Linage onely fertile in bringing forth Monsters of Rebellion. That by sparing her life, and suffering her to escape, he should afford her time, licence and power to execute what she but now (perhaps) had intended.*

The King, not knowing the mans particular hatred against this Lady (for some write, *He did inform against her in revenge that she refused to marry him, giving her self to another*) suffred the *Process* to be concluded.

Some of the Judges would have referred her to the Kings clemency till a farther tryall of the Witnesses might be had, upon whose testimony the *Process* did depend, it being a safer way in Judgement to absolve the guilty, than condemn

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the innocent. But the moſt part gave her over to the Aſſizers; the better part of which being in voices fewer, the greater, who neither reſpecting conſcience within them, nor ſhame with the preſent age and poſterity, nor the Supreme juſtice of Heaven, find this poor Lady guilty, and ſhe is condemned to be burnt alive. Her ſentence was executed the fifth day after the beheading of the Maſter of *Forbeſs* on the Caſtle hill of *Edenburgh*, in ſight of her Huſband. Who either out of Revenge or Fear, after this tragical end of his Lady, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by eſcape out of the Priſon, whilſt he came over the Wall by the ſhortneſs of the Cable was daſhed againſt the Rock, and found dead. Though the tender years of the Lord *Glammes*, her Son, proved his innocency, he remained priſoner in the Caſtle till after the Kings death. The old Prieſt, when after torture, nothing could be proved again him was ſet at liberty *William Lyon*, the author of this calumny, was baniſhed the Countrey, whic h juſtifyed the Ladies integrity, and verifyed that however Princes love to find out Treaſon, they hate the Informers except upon cleer grounds.

Upon the like ſuſpitions *Droomlenrigge* and *Hempſ-Field* antient Barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the verity by Combate; the liſts were deſigned by the King (who was a Spectator and Umpire of their Valour) at the Court of of the Pallace of *Holy-rood-houſe*. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like antient Palladines, and after many enterchanged blows to the diſadvantage of their Caſks, Corſlets and Vantbraces, when the one was become breathleſs, by the weight of his arms and thunder of his blowes, and the other (who was ſhort ſighted) had broken his ponderous Sword, the King, by Heraulds, cauſed ſeparate them, with diſadvantage to neither of theſe Champions, and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both fight in cloſe Arms.

The Abbot of *Arbroth*, and the Lord *Maxwell* by many enterchanged letters full of Princely love, had aſſured the King and the Lady *Mary* of *Lorrain*, and articles being agreed upon, to the great content of the *French*, they were eſpouſed by Proctors, as is the cuſtome amongſt Princes, with great triumph in the City of *Paris*, in the preſence of the *French* King and many Peers; after which ſolemnity Monſieur *d' Annabault* Admiral of *France*, accompanied her to *New-haven* in the beginning of the Moneth of *June* 1538. where ſhe embarqued, and with many *French* Ships, when ſhe had been toſt on the Seas, came to *Fyffes-neſs*, where at *Cayrel* ſhe was attended by the Noblemen, and the King, who conſumated the mariage in the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrews* in *July*.

Nothing more linketh the affections of the marryed than children: the first year the Queen answereth her husbands hopes, and in *S. Andrews* was delivered of a Son, who was named *James*; the Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews* and Earl of *Arran* being his God-Fathers, and the Queen the King's Mother his Godmother 1539. in *Febr.* thereafter she was crowned Queen of *Scotland* in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-house* by the Abbot of *Arbroth*; at which time *Margarite* the old Queen falling sick at *Methven* in few daies departed, and was buryed in the Charterhouse of St. *Johnstoun* near the Tomb of King *James* the first. The King her Son, with all the Nobility, and Gentry being present at her funerals, which were celebrated in most solemn and pompous manner. Not long after *James Beatoun* Arch-bishop, a man of great age, followed this Lady to the other World: he had provided Successors to his Benefices, and his Arch-bishops See to *David Beatoun*, afterwards Cardinal, whom the King accepted and admitted without contestation.

The kingdom now began to be divided in opinions of Religion, they which held the helm of State, labouring in vain ro reconcile them; the King was sore perplexed and uncertain what course to follow; suppress them he could not; to give way to them, without shaking the strongest beams of the policy of his Kingdom, seem'd unto him impossible; his privy Counsellours being more of his antient Servants, than Nobles or Church men (of which many were piping through these flecked clouds of ignorance) as they favored gave their opinions, some one way, some another, and a freedome of speech being given, one of them as they were in his chamber together, spake to him to this purpose.

Sir, amongst the many blessings your Subjects enjoy under this your Government, this is not the least, that for the Weal of your Majesty, and the publick good of the Kingdome, the meanest of your Subjects may freely open his mind and declare his opinion unto you his Soveraign.

And if ever there was a time in which grave, good and sound counsel should be delivered to your Majesty, it is this, and the difficulties of the Common-wealth do now require it. Nor ever in matters of advice and consultation, can we embrace and follow what is most reasonable, and what according to Laws, Justice, and Equity should be, but what necessity driveth us unto, and what is most convenient for the present time to be, and what we may well and fairly accomplish and bring to pass.

The Estate of your Kingdome is troubled with diversity of opinions concerning Religion; It is to be wished that the one onely true Religion were in the hearts of all your Subjects,

[*since*

[*since diversity of opinions of Religion and heresies are the very punishment of God Almighty upon men for their horrible vices and roaring sins. And when Men forsake his fear and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their own opinions and fantasies in Religion; out of which arise Partialities, Factions, Divisions, Strife, intestine Discords, which burst forth into civil war, and in short time bring Kingdoms and Common-wealths to their last periods*] *But matters arising to such a height and disorder, as by all appearance, they are like to advance in this Kingdom, the number of the Sectaries dayly increasing, without dissembling my thoughts to your Majesty, The preservation of the People being the Supream and principal law which God Almighty hath enjoyned to all Princes.*

I hold it more expedient to give place to the exercise of both religions, than under pretence and shadow of them to suffer the common Peace of your Subjects to be torn in pieces. What can wisdom (Sir) advise you to do with these Separatists? Either they must be tolerated for a time, or they must altogether be removed, and that by death or banishment.

So soon as a Prince beginneth to spoil, bantsh, kill, burn his people, for matters abstract from sense and altogether spiritual, he becometh as it were a Plague unto them. It is an Errour of State in a Prince, for an opinion of Piety to condemn to death the adherers to new doctrine. For, the constancy and patience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporall miseries and death it self for matters of faith, stirr up and invite numbers who at first and before they had suffered were ignorant of their faith and doctrine, not only to favour their cause but to embrace their opinions, Pitty and commiseration opening the Gates. Thus their belief spreadeth it self abroad, and their Number dayly encreaseth.

It is no less errour of State to banish them. Banished *Men are so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to invade their native Countrey, to trouble the peace and tranquility of your Kingdome.*

To take Arms against Sectaries and Separatists will be a great Enterprize, a matter hard and of many dangers; Religion cannot be preached by arms; the first Christians detested that form of procceedings; force and compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites; not true Christians. If there be any Heresie amongst your people, this wound is in the Soul; our Souls being Spiritual Substances upon which fire and iron cannot work, They must be overcome by spirituall Armes; Love the men and pitty their errours.

Who can lay upon a man a necessity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe. No Prince hath such Power over the Souls and thoughts of men,

as he hath over their bodies. Now to ruin and extirpate all those Sectaries, what will it prove else than to cut off one of your arms, to the great prejudice of your Kingdom and weakning of the State? they dayly increasing in number, and no man being so miserable and mean, but he is a member of the State. The more easie manner and nobler way were to tolerate both Religions, and grant a place to two Churches in the Kingdom, till it shall please Almighty God to return the minds of your Subjects, and turn them all of one will and opinion: Be content to keep that which ye may, Sir, since ye cannot that which ye would.

It is a false and erroneous opinion, That a Kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth two Religions: Diversitie of Religion shutteth not up society, nor barreth civil conversation among men; a little time will make persons of different Religions contract such acquaintance, custome, familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one City, family, yea marriage Bed, State and Religion, having nothing common.

Why (I pray) may not two Religions be suffered in a State (till by some sweet and easie means they may be reduced to a right Government) since in the Church (which should be union it self, and of which the Roman *Church much vaunteth) almost infinit Sects and kinds of Monks are suffered: differing in their Laws, Rules of government, Fashions of living, Dyet, Apparel, maintenance and opinions of perfection, and who sequester themselves from our publick union. The* Roman *Empire had its extension, not by similitude and likeness of Religion. Different Religions, providing they enterprize nor practise nothing against the Politick Laws of the Kingdom may be tolerated in a State.*

The Murthers, Massacres, Battels, which arise and are belike dayly to encrease amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a thousand times more execrable, and be more open, plain, flat impiety, than this Liberty of diversity of Religions, with a quiet peace, can be unjust.

Forasmuch as the greatest part of those who flesh themselves in blood and slaughter, and overturn by Arms the peace of their Neighbours (whom they should love as themselves) spoiling and ravaging like famished Lyons, sacrifice their souls to the infernal powers, without further hopes or means of their ever recovering and comming back, when those others are in some way of repentance.

In seeking liberty of Religion, these men seek not to believe any thing that may come in their Brains; but to use Religion according to the first Christian institutions, serving God and obeying the Laws under which they were born.

That Maxime so often repeated amongst the Church-men of Rome, *That the Chase and following of Hereticks is more necessary than that of Infidels, is well applyed for the inlarging and in-*

increasing the Dominions, Soveraignity and power of the Pope, but not for the amplifying and extending of the Christian Religion, and the Weal and Benefit of the Christian Common-Wealth.

Kingdomes and Soveraignityes should not be governed by the Lawes and Interests of Priests and Church men, but according to the exigency, need, and as the case requireth of the Publick Weal, which often is necessitated to pass and tolerate some defects and faults. It is the duty of all Christian Princes to endeavour and take pains that their Subjects embrace the true faith, as that semblably, and in even parts they observe all Gods commandments, and not more one commandment than another.

Notwithstanding when a vice cannot be exstirpate and taken away without the ruin of the State, it would appear to humane judgments that it should be suffered. Neither is there a greater obligation, bond, necessity of Law, to punish Hereticks more than fornicators, which yet for the peace and tranquillity of the State are tolerated and past over. Neither can a greater inconviency and harm follow if we shall suffer men to live in our Common-wealth who believe not, nor embrace not all our opinions. In an Estate many things are for the time tolerated, because they cannot without the total ruine of the State be suddenly Amended and Reformed.

These men are of that same nature and condition of which we are; they worship, as we do, one God, they believe those very same holy records; We both aym at Salvation; We both fear to offend God; We both set before us our happiness: The difference between them and us hangeth upon this one point, that they having found abuses in our Church, require a reformation. Now shall it be said for that we run divers waies to one end, understand not rightly others language; we shall pursue others with Fire and Sword, & exstirpate others from the face of the Earth? God is not in the bitter division and alienation of affections, nor the raging flames of sedition, nor in the Tempests of the turbulent Whirl-winds of contradictions and disputations, but in the calm and gentle breathings of Peace and Concord: If any wander out of the High way, we bring him to it again; If any be in darkness, we shew him light and kill him not; In Musical Instruments if a string jar and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but leasurely veer it about to a Concord: and shall we be so Churlish, cruel, uncharitable, so wedded to our own superstitious opinions, that we will barbarously banish, kill, burn those whom by love and sweetness we might readily winn and recal again?

Let us win and merit of these men by reason, Let them be cited to a free Councel; it may be they shall not be proved Heretecks, neither that they maintain opinions condemned by the antient Councils. Let their Religion be compared and paralell'd with

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the Religion of the first Age of the Church.

Shall we hold this People worse than the Jews, *which yet have their Synagogues at* Rome *it self? Let them receive instructions from a free and lawfull Council, and forsake their errors, when they shall be clearly and fairly demonstrated unto them. Heresie is an errour in the fundamental grounds of Religion, Schism intendeth a resolution in Separation: Let a good Council be convocated, and see if they be ready or not to reunite themselves to us.*

That which they believe is not evil, but to some it will appear they believe not enough, and that there is in them rather a defect of good than any habit of evil. Other points when they shall be consider'd, shall be found to consist in external ceremonies of the Church, rather than in substance of doctrine, or what is essential to Christianity. These men should be judg'd before condemn'd, and they should be heard before they be judg'd; which being holily and uprightly don, we shall find it is not our religions, but our private intrests and passions which troubleth us and the State.

The King followed not this opinion, but gave himself over to the counsel and Government of the Prelates. They remonstrate to him, that he should not rashly alter approv'd and long received customes; that there was nothing more dangerous in Government, than to abase the authority of antient Laws. Let him well consider and set before his eyes the malice of Man, who ever when he is drawn off one course of evil precipitateth himself in a worse; It was less evil in State to tolerate disorders known, unto which usual and accustomed remedies might be applyed, than by altering and changing foundations to give way to new, to find out Remedies to which, would take and consume a whole age. That this would be a way, not only to take away the abuses, but even the good uses of every thing, and put in hazard all matters and main points concerning Religion. They desired him to consider how there were two sorts of persons affecting these new opinions and studying Novations. The multitude or common people, and some of the Nobility and Gentry. It was likely the common people might be deceiv'd; and to give them satisfaction, and appease them, by granting them a Reformation or change in religion, would not be a means to illuminate and instruct them, but to bring in a popular licence. If he should suffer them to misbelieve, distrust, call in question points of Religion, or search or find out more light, they would immediately thereafter presume to make Laws and limit the Government, by degrees restraining the Soveraign authority, and after they had examined, sifted narrowly, and discust Ecclesiastical authority, they would essay to correct and find the difficulties of the Temporall. That it was

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more easie to oppose and resist the first demands of the multitude, than pleasing them in a part, after bound and limit their desires and petitions. As to the great Men of his Nobility and Gentry he might be assured they had not Religion and piety for their ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the Church Rents, and Ecclesiastical goods. To turn absolute and free men, acknowledging neither Church nor King. To this end many reserved themselves, and kept close their opinions, attending the change: which once appearing, their faces would turn all one way. Which imminent evils, if the King would prevent, there was no other means than to use his authority and power, whilst the most and greatest part of his Kingdom yet obey'd him. That celerity in this was most necessary, before their number increas'd, and ere they discover'd that universal commodity, which would follow the imbracing of these new opinions. It was safer to compose these Tumults by his absolute command and authority, and if this produced not the wished effect, to perform it by arms, than to give reins to a popular licence, and the ambition of great Men.

After this counsel had prevailed, most rigorous inquisitions are established, and punishments denounced against all who professed opinions differing to the Church of *Rome*.

Whereupon some out of a muffled zeal of Religion, others to revenge their particular quarrels, most to possesse moveables and lands, pursue many to judgment. Of which some are executed by fire, others banished, many imprisoned, amongst which was that famous Poet and Historian *George Buchanan*, who whilst his Keepers slept, escaped by a Window of the Prison, the Muses holding the Cable; the more frequent the publick executions were and banishments, the greater number embraced the opinions of them which suffered.

The King of *England* having understood that the *Pope*, giving out the confirming of a Peace between the Emperour and the *French* King, had a meeting with them at *Nice* (a maritime Town upon the confines of *Provence*) and assuring himself that matters there would be both consulted upon, and determined to his prejudice, sendeth again to his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, that he would come and see him at *York*, for now he had more vehemently irritated the Pope, having condemned as Rebels, and confiscated the goods of all who maintained Papal authority; and raised from their Tomb the Bones of *Thomas Becket* (commonly named Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, canoniz'd by Pope *Alexander* the third, for being kill'd for the maintenance of the liberties of the *Church* 1171. to whom there was yearly a Festival Day kept by

by the *Roman* Church) and by the hands of a common Executioner caused burn in ashes and throw them in the River. The revealing of which to the world was a secret more derogatory to the Pontificial State, than any stumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the Sentence of Excommunication, some years deferred, was pronounced against him. By which he was deprived of his Kingdom, and those who adhered to him, declared uncapable of what they possessed. His Subjects were dispensed from their Oath of Allegiance, and discharged to obey him. Strangers were inhibited traffick with his Kingdom. All Christians charged to arise in arms against him. The Estates, goods and persons of such Subjects as followed him, given over to be a prey and spoil to any would invade them.

It was time for him to look to himself. Such of the Nobility as loved peace, and the Weal of the two Kingdoms, stirr'd King *James* to this interview, especially they who favour'd the reformed Religion; assuring him King *Henry* was disposed with all demonstrations of good will, that his person would be far from any danger. And if by this conference they should join in bands of Amity, a great benefit to themselves, Country and posterity would redound. Why would King *Henry* in the face of the World and Neighbour Princes, brand so his Reputation, as to break the Laws of Hospitality, wrong a Prince whom he had invited to come and see him? Why would he violate those of consanguinity attempting against his own Nephew? The Emperour *Charles* the fifth had been his Guest, and after Royal entertainment, was friendly dismissed. He met with *Francis* the *French* King at *Bullen*; which meeting seemed rather of Brothers come to countenance some marriage Pomp, than contending Neighbours. If *King Henry* had born any discontent against his Nephew, he might long ere now have satisfyed his ambition, and at more easie rate, when the King his father with most of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* receiv'd that fatal overthrow by the Hills of *Flowden* and *Banks* of *Till*; the refusing of an interview might divide the King and his Uncle upon which might follow some unnatural War.

Upon the other part the Church-men set all their Power to hinder this interview, perswading themselves it would give a terrible blow to their Estates or Religion. The principal cause (say they) why the King of *England* is so passionately earnest to have this meeting, is to perswade his Nephew to conform Church-matters in *Scotland* to those already begun in *England*; to abolish the Popes authority, to drive Religious persons from their Lands, Rents, Houses; invest the jewels and ornaments of the Churches. Which counsel and

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example if King *James* ſhould follow, he would hazard or loſe the friendſhip he had with the Pope, Emperour and *French* King, his beſt confederates, abandoned of which he and his Kingdom would be left a Prey to the tyranny of his Uncle; if *Henry* kept no faith to God, Men had no reaſon to truſt unto him. That this Interview was to intrap his perſon; He being the man whom the Pope and Emperour had deſigned to ſet upon his Throne, and revenge their quarels; That it was groſly to err, to be carried away with a ſhadow and appearance and leave a Subſtance, to truſt at once his Crown, perſon and liberty to an Enemy. And ſith examples move more than precepts, let him think upon the hazard of King James the firſt, eighteen years Priſoner, and after ſold to his Subjects; *Malcolm* and *William* Kings of *Scotland*. He ſhould remember (if yet he were therein to be inſtructed) that Princes ſerve themſelves with occaſions over their Neighbours, that they have greater care to ſatisfy their ambition, than fear of ſhame for doing of wrongs with the preſent times or poſterity. That their Oaths were no longer kept than they obſerved their advantages. That after he falleth in his hands, he ought to follow his manners, Religion, forſaking and giving over his own natural diſpoſition, manners and freedom, have no other affections nor motions than his. For who commeth under the roof of a Tyrant turneth ſlave, though he was a free man ere he did enter. That this meeting with the body, would endanger the Soul and infect it with his errours, corrupting it with falſe opinions grounded upon a liberty to live to ſenſuality and *Epicurean* pleaſure. If upon the ſlighting of this Interview, King *Henry* ſhould denounce war againſt King *James* and invade his Countrey, they in his juſt defence ſhould furniſh moneys to entertain an Army and overturn his proceedings. For the preſent neceſſity they offer to pay to him fyfty thouſand Crowns yearly; and in any hazard of the Eſtate voluntarily to contribute all their rents and revenues, providing it would pleaſe his Majeſty to ſuffer juſtice to proceed againſt thoſe who ſcandalouſly had ſequeſtred themſelves from the holy Church, and to the contempt of his Laws publiquely made profeſſion of the opinions of *Luther*. That the goods of all who ſhould be convict of Hereſie (which they eſteemed to no leſs than an hundred thouſand Crowns of yearly Rent) ſhould be brought to the Exchequer, and their lands annext to the Crown. To this effect they intreat his Majeſty to give them ſufficient Judges truly Catholick and full of zeal and ſeverity.

After long reaſoning upon both ſides it was agreed, the King ſhould not altogether refuſe to meet his Vncle, but ad-

here to the first offer propounded to his Embassador concerning this Inter-view. The meeting to be at *New castle*, one thousand at the most in train with either King, the time to be the Feast of St. *Michael* the Arch Angel.

These Conditions not being embraced by King *Henry*, would if not abolish totally, at the least prolong the time of this meeting; the King of *England* thinketh his Nephew too imperious to assume the Injunction of the whole circumstances of their meeting, but rather than his suit should take no effect, accepteth both of the Place and number of the Train: and that he might have some point yeelded unto him, requireth the time may be the first of *August*. These Conditions being almost agreed upon, three or four hundreth *Riddesdale* and *Tinedale* men, with other Borderers, break upon *Liddesdale*, and therewith large incursions kill and forrage. This during the Treaty falling miserably forth, so much irritated King *James* that, accepting the offers of his Clergy, he gave over inwardly all intentions of any inter-view: By prolonging time labouring to winde himself out of the Maze. Hereupon he sendeth Letters full of excuses for his stay; representing his many grievances and wrongs suffer'd; and the seeds of discord began now to be sowen amongst them. To lighten and recreate his cloudy thoughts, the Queen is delivered at *Sterlin* of another Son, who with great solemnity is baptized in the Chappel of the Castle, and named *Arthur*.

The Prelates after mature deliberation present Sir *James Hamiltoun*, natural Son to the Earl of *Arran*, to be supream Judge of the Inquisition, against all suspect of Heresie and new opinions differing from the Faith of the *Roman* Church. The King approving their judgements in their choise, admitteth him. Sir *James* chearfully accepteth this new honour: For now his ambition will find many guilty & miserable supplicants: Yet was this charge his ruin. For whilst he persecuteth all who were informed against to be suspect of the Reform'd Religion, having many in Jayls, and numbers in his Scroles to bring within the Labyrinth of a Process, the supream Providence arresteth himself.

James Hamiltoun Sherif of *Linlythgow*, Brother to Master *Patrick Hamiltoun* Abbot of *Ferme* (who had suffered for Religion, and was cousin to Sir *James Hammiltoun* of *Fennard*, Lord Inquisitor) for embracing his Brothers opinions, had been persued so by the Church-men that he was constrain'd to forsake his own Countrey, and some yeers wander as a banisht man abroad; But by his friends at Court having purchased a License or Protection for some moneths to see his desolate Family, and put his private Affairs in order, cometh home.

home. Where finding the cenſorian Power to be in his couſins hands (for where ſhould he have Sanctuary, if he were challenged by ſo neer a Kinſman for matters of Religion?) imagining to himſelf an over-ſight and preterition, outdateth by his ſtay his Protection. Sir *James* to curry the favour of the Church-men, and teſtifie how dearly the cauſe of the Catholike Faith touched him, reſolveth to begin with his Couſin. For if he were ſo burnt up with zeal, that he ſpar'd not his own blood in the quarrell of the *Roman* Faith, what Heretick could paſs unpuniſht? Beſides the inveſting himſelf in the Sherifs Office and Lands (which he never minded to reſtore) he had a Picque againſt him, for that whilſt he ſate Judge in *Lithgow*, he pronounced a ſentence by which he was intereſted in ſome petty gain.

The Sheriff falling ſo far ſhort of his expectation, that he findeth himſelf the firſt ſubject of his Couſins juſtice, and highly reſenting his Kinſmans cruelty, whom he knew under pretext of Piety ready to execute his own Revenges, reſolveth to prevent his miſchief. He had ſometime been familiar with Sir *James*, had known his by-paths; his ſecret Plots and ayrie brags had not eſcaped his obſervation; ſome alike in kindred, to them both were emiſſaries ſuborned, to mark not onely his actions but words and behaviour, by which one way or other he might be intrapt; He knew Sir *James* ſtood in ſome umbrage with the King, and that ſome ſuſpitions by no Innocency could be taken away. When at laſt he had found his hot-ſpur Couſin (who threatned him with Death and Fire) within the circle of his conjurations, he directeth his Son to the King, who at that time was ready to paſs the *Forth* in his Barge; this baſhful Meſſenger giveth advertiſement from his Father, that the King ſhould make his perſon ſure from his foes at home; for Sir *James Hamiltoun* had ſecret intelligence and Plots with the Earl of *Angus* and *Dowglaſſes*, and that he attended onely the occaſion when he might ſurpriſe him, either alone, or with a mean retinue, and then or openly he would invade him, or breaking up his Chamber-doors aſſaſſinate him. The King giving attentive ear to a buſineſs which concerned him, no leſs than the ſafety of his Perſon, the accuſation being given by a Couſin of the ſuſpect, againſt a family, which a little diſorder in the State might turn Succeſſors to the Crown, directeth the young man to *Edenburgh*, and beyond his private inſtructions giveth him a Ring (well known by the chief Officers to be a token of power and ſecrecie) to aſſemble ſo many of the Counſel as were reſident. Sir *Thomas Arſeken*, Secretary, Sir *James Lermound*, Maſter of the Houſhold, *William Kirkcaldie* Treaſurer and others, meet, fear, conſult upon the Trea-

ſon, labour how to prevent it; come to Sir *James* his Lodgeing, make ſure his Perſon in the Caſtle of *Edenbrough:* and at that ſame time proceed, according to the Kings direction to iuſtruct his Proceſs. Sir *Iames* paſſionately reſenting his impriſonment, by his friends imploreth the ayd of the Church-men upon his innocency. They apprehending his accuſation to be a ſtratagem of State forg'd by theſe of the Reformed Religion, for the ſtopping any further progreſs of the Inquiſition, already ſo furiouſly begun, interpoſe their credit with the King for his Liberty to the diſcharging of his Commiſſion againſt Hereticks. If the King ſhould hearken to every Informer againſt a man in State and Office, he ſhould never have an end; for thus no man is ſo innocent who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir *Iames* was known to be a man raſh and inſolent in words, his brains having been a little giddy (like one looking from a great height) by his advancement in honours and place in Court; but ſincere in the ſervice of his Prince and loyal. If he was arrogant in boldneſs of termes, that was to acquire ſome more credit with the Commons, that he might doe better ſervice to his Prince.

They who committed Sir *James Hamiltoun*, knowing the King facile and eaſie to be wrought upon by the Clergy, ſome of them too, profeſſing or giving way to the reform'd Religion, reſolve (if he ſhould eſcape free of this accuſation) that an imminent ruin hung over their perſons and eſtates. Neceſſity and fear combining the diſtracted powers of their minds, they come proſtrate before the King, beſeech him not ſo much to look to the quality and circumſtances of the crime, as to the evil inclination of the man, who, powerful, factious, and naturally vindicative, would never forgive nor forget the danger he was driven unto; that His Majeſty would conſider his paſs'd life, terrible and cruel againſt all whom he could over-reach; That to give him liberty, and relieve him of his impriſonment, before the crimes of which he was accuſ'd were clearly proved, or not, would be their, and the accuſers overthrow; whom they eſteemed loyal Subjects, and except upon evident probabilities, had never given informations againſt him. That he was a man perfectly hated of the People, and a more acceptable ſacrifice could not be offer'd unto their fury if he prov'd guilty. At their Supplications the King gave the Judges full power to proceed againſt him, and adminiſter juſtice according to their conſciences and the Laws of the Kingdom. The pannall being found guilty of ſuch points of the Inditement as was laid againſt him, was condemned to die, and thereafter accordingly beheaded, his Quarters being ſet aloft on the Town gates, his Lands annex'd to the Crown.

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The Crimes of which he was found guilty (as from those who lived near that time have by tradition been received) were, he had intelligence with the Earl of *Angus* and *Dowglasses*, whom he laboured to have restored, though with the Kings death, he had a plot to have broken up the Kings Chamber-doors, and killed him, divolving the title of the Crown, or at least Government of the Kingdom to his kinred. Being directed to have repared a Castle in Bute, and to this effect receiving three thousand Crowns in *April*, he went not thither, attending some change in the State, which was to be accomplished by treason against the Kings person. He kept still with him men of disperate minds and fortunes who at his direction durst enterprize any mischief.

Where he had repaired some of the Kings houses, he had placed a Statue resembling himself, or which to some he had named his Statue (what Mole-hills are turned into Mountains when a Prince will pry into the actions of a disgraced Subject?) above the Kings arms. He had detracted from his Master, naming him the King of Clowns and Priests, and Scourge of the antient Nobility; He had laboured to hinder the Kings marriage at his being in *France*.

To these points the people (who rejoiced in his ruin) added, he had slain cruelly the Earl of *Lennox* at the battell of *Lithgow*, after he was Prisoner to *Purdowye*; he had way-laid *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassiles* who was killed by his direction and Counsel.

This back-blow of Fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a Prince, and after remain in his service; for Princes put old offences up as neglected, and when the occasion serveth them, surprize long after the Delinquents for some faults of which they are scarce guilty.

Sundry of the Nobility, appall'd at this sudden fall of Sir *Iames Hamiltoun* (for though they loved not the Man, they hated the example of such strict Justice) left the Court, retiring to their own dwelling Houses: which made the King suspitious of them, and believe they favoured the reformed Religion, and preferred the friendship of King *Henry* his Vncle to his. Neither was he herein far Mistaken: for some feared not to send him word, that they had learned the Church-men had set him on work to extirpate his antient Nobility, as if it were an easie matter to create as many out of the Gentry, in whom (being his own Creatures) he might have greater confidence than any made by his Predecessours.

After this he turned so retired, sullen and melancholly, that every thing displeased him, and he became even insupportable to himself, not suffering his Domestick Servants

to

to use their ordinary disport and recreations neer him. And as all day he projected and figured to himself new cares to perplex himself, some of which might fall forth, others could never come to pass; So in the night time the objects of his dayly projects working upon his fantasie, limmed their dark shadows of displeasures, which gave him terrible affright in his sleep. Amongst many of which, two are recorded as notable; one in the History of the Church, the other common; both seem to have been forged by the Men of those times, who thought fictions as powerful to breed an opinion in discontented minds as verities, and they may challenge a place in the poetical part of History. As he lay in the Pallace of *Lithgow* about the midst of the night, he leaped out of his Bed, calleth for Lights, commandeth his Servants to search *Thomas Scot* his Justice Clark, who (he said) stood by his Bed-side accompanied with hideous weights cursing the time that ever he had served him; for by too great obedience to him, he was by the justice of God condemned to everlasting torments.

Whilst they about him labour to cure his wounded Imagination, news came that *Thomas Scot* about that same hour of the Night was departed to the other World at *Edenburgh* and with no better Devotion than he was represented to the King.

After Sir *James Hamiltoun* had ended his part of this Tragecomedy of life, he seemed to the King to have returned on the Stage, and in a ghastly manner with a naked Sword in his hands, he thought he parted both his arms from him, advertising him he would come again shortly, and be more fully revenged, till which occasion he should suffer these wounds. The next day after this vision (which is recorded to have been the seaventh of *August*) word came that both his Sonns were deceased and that almost in one hour. *James* the Prince (then one year old) at St. *Andrews*, *Arthur* one moneth old at *Sterlin*.

The King of *England* finding himself disappointed by his Nephew of their meeting, and understanding it to have been occasiond by the Rhetorick and liberality of the Churchmen: having many of the Nobility of *Scotland* of his faction (whose innocency interpreted his Religion to be the reformed, though indeed it was of his own stamp, for he abolished the Pope but not Popacy) by making prizes of *Scottish* Ships upon the Seas with his Fleet and incursions of his garrison'd Souldiers upon land beginneth the prologue of an unnecessary war.

King *James* to stop the *English* incursions placeth *George Gordoun* Earl of *Huntley* with his full power and authority

at

at the Borders, and directeth *James Lermound* of *Darcey*, towards his Uncle, to give sufficient reasons of his not meeting him at *Newcastle*, withall to seek restitution of his Ships, sith taken before any lawful War was proclaimed, and to expostulate the hostility of the Borderers.

King *Henry not only* refuseth render the Ships, or give a reason for the breaking forth of the Garrisons on the Borders, but delaying the answer of the *Scottish* Embassadour upon advantage of time, sendeth Sir *Robert Bowes* seconded with the Earl of *Angus* and Sir *George Dowglas*, in hostile manner to invade *Scotland*. These to the number of three thousand, burn, spoil, small villages, and ravage the Countrey neer the debatable bounds. The Earl of *Huntley* omitteth no occasion to resist them, places garrisons in *Kelsoo* and *Jedburgh*, assembling all the hardy Bordrers, and invadeth the *English* and *Scottish* forces at a Place named *Hall-den rig*; here it is soundly skirmished, till the Lord *Hume* by the advancing of four hundred fresh Launces turned the fortune of the Day; for the *English* were put to flight; the Warden Sir *Robert Bowes* Captain of *Norham*, Sir *William Mowbray*, *James Dowglas* of *Parkhead* with a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*, were taken Prisoners (the Earl by the advantage of his horse escaping) with others to the number of six hundred. The Warden staied in *Scotland* till the Kings death.

This Road happened prosperously to the *Scots* the 24. of *August* 1541. being a Dise-mall St. *Bartholomew* to the *English*.

The War continuing till Midsommer, King *Henry* sent the Earl of *Norfolk*, whom he named the Rod of the *Scots*, with great power towards *Scotland*; with him the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hereford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, and the Lords of the North parts of *England*, with an Army of fourty thousand men, as they were esteemed. With them he directeth *James Lermound* of *Darcey* the *Scotish* Embassadour to keep an equal march till they came to *Berwick*, and there to stay that he should not give advertisement to his Master of any of his proceedings; the Earl of *Huntley* upon advantages of places resisting the adventuring Routs who essayed to cross the *Tweed*. But King *Iames* hearing the old Duke of *Norfolk* was their Leader, raiseth from all the parts of his Kingdom Companies, and assembling them upon *Sawtery-edge* mustered thirty thousand men. They encamped on *Fallow-Moor*, the King having advertisement that the Duke would march towards *Edenburgh*. Ten thousand strong, the Lords *Hume*, *Seatoun*, *Areskin*, to make up the Earl of *Huntleys* forces, are sent towards the borders: The King himself expecting the Artillery and other furniture of War

War staieth with the body of the Army in the Camp. During this time it is reported the Lords plotteth a Reformation of the Court, according to the example practised at *Lawder-Bridge*: especially against such who were named, Pensioners of the Priests; but because they could not agree among themselves about those who should stretch the ropes, every one striving to save his kinsman, or friend, they escaped all the danger.

That this attempt being revealed to the King, he dismist some of his favourites in great fear to *Edenburgh*. So malitious is faction armed with power.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolk*, by such in the *Scotish* Camp who favoured King *Henry*, having understood the preparation and mind of King *Iames* to meet him in an open field, well knowing that Fortune had that much of a woman to favour young men more than old, and that honourable retreits are no waies inferiour to brave Charges, retireth off the *Scottish* ground, and keeps his forces on their own marches. For the valour and resolution of this young Prince might (perhaps) spoil and divest him of his former purchased Lawrels and Palms, to the applause of King *Henry*, who some thought (being wearie of his service) to this effect sent him to *Scotland*. A great number of the *Lancastrians* and *North-Humbrians*, who, upon hopes of spoil, had followed him, pretending want of Victuals, and the rigorous season of the year, with arms and baggage leave this Army. Having done little harm to the *Scots*, and suffered much hunger and cold at *Berwick*, he prepareth a retreit towards *London*.

When King *Iames* understood the Duke had repassed the *Tweed*, he encouraged his Army to follow him. The Common Souldier was indifferent; the Noblemen refuse to fight except upon *Scotish* ground. The King urgeth them with the commodity and advantage of a Revenge of the old wrong of the Duke, commanding an Army neither of the Gentry, nor many Nobles of *England*, but of Hirelings and pressed Artizans, whose number would prove hurtful to themselves, and turn them in a disordered confusion. They had many daies suffered famine, and all necessities of War; their vigour and courage was spent; that the *English* fought far off, and they at home. There wanted not matter to answer, but a man to deliver the King an answer; generally they refuse to fight. To defend the person of their Prince, the State and Countrey, they would hazard their their lives, and if they had any thing more dear. If the enemy would stay on Scotish ground, they would do their uttermost to make him retire, or by main force expel him; But to invade

vade *England* and tempt an Army, who not only was retired but returned to their own bounds, they neither had so just a quarrel as they wisht, nor were they sufficient at that time to pursue them. Their provisions for war were spent, the winter approached, victuals consumed: that despare often turned it self into true fortitude, and men in good Order retiring would not be too neer followed, that even flying enemies should have Bridges of Gold. Now if they were to charge the Enemy they would not have the Kings presence, a man young, rash, valorous, upon whose life, not onely the glory of the Battel, but the life of the Common-wealth depended, his two Sons being lately departed. For if the fortune of War brought a period to his life, the Crown would remain at the mercy of the Victor; that the Kings glory was not little that he had in so short a time with so small forces, and these suddenly gathered, stopt the progress of so mighty an Army, which was so long in gathering, and boasted of such great matters, yet which durst not advance one mile in *Scottish* ground. Whether the *English* flye or retire, they had suffered as much wrong as they had done, and now to fight them (and that perhaps) with disadvantage, was to put in hazard what was already acquired.

The Duke of *Norfolk* returning to *London*, the King with his Army commeth to *Edenburgh*, which immediate-he disbanded; but he forgot not the secret Plot against his Favourites, nor the open refusal of his Nobles to fight on *English* ground: as if the Earth were not all one piece and matter, and men the destinade inhabitants of it every where; the Cardinall *David Beatoun*, *Oliver Saintclair*, *Craggy-Ross*, and others adde fewel to these flames, *Falla-Moor* plot mightily inftigating them.

The King avouched publickly, That the Nobility neither loved his honour, nor desired his continuance amongst them.

To cooll these smooking humours and breed in the King fairer hopes of his Nobles, the Lord *Maxwel* offereth, giving him ten thousand men to command (if the State thought it expedient) to invade *England* at *Salloway*, affirming the State and fortune of those who assail, to be better than theirs who are still put to their defence. The *English* forces being divided, he doubted not to stay longer on *English* ground than the Duke had done on the *Scotish*, and to effectuate something to the Kings content. The King thanking him for his offer, appointeth a Rendezvous to be at the West Marches. No proclamations are divulged for the Levies of men, but close Letters sent.

The Cardinal and the Earl of *Arran* (the one a Churchman of a mind above many Nobles, the other a Nobleman of an humilitie under any Church-man) to give falſe perſpective to thoſe proceedings, by ſound of Trumpets, and beating of Drumms raiſe men openly, march toward *Hadingtoun*, and the Eaſt Borders; Whilſt the Earls of *Caſſiles*, *Glencarn*, Lords *Flammin*, *Sommervail*, *Arſekin*, Barons *Aytoun*, *Langtoun*, *Ormeſtoun*, *Waughtoun*, and many others, accompanied with the Kings domeſtick Servants ride to the Weſt Borders.

The night before the Road, the King himſelf came to *Loch-Maban*, attending the event of the incurſion. Companies comming from all quarters of the Countreys about, none knowing of another, with the power of the *Scotiſh* Borderers, paſs the Water of *Esk*, burn certain Hamlets of the *Grahams* on the very limits.

Sir *Thomas Whartoun* Warden of theſe Marches, not a little troubled at ſuch a frequent aſſembly of the *Scotiſh* Riders, raiſing the power of the Countrey, placeth them by a little hill, where he might take a view of their forces, in good order; with him were Baſtard *Dacres* and *Jack Muſgrave*, two valiant Captains.

The *Scotiſh* Lords beholding the *Engliſh*, range themſelves in a Battallion, deſire to know the Kings Lieutenant General, for now it was to marſhall their Companyes, and every man to take him to his Charge. Preſently *Oliver Saintclair* upon croſſed Pikes is mounted, the Kings Banner diſplayed, and the Commiſſion read in which he is deſigned Lieutenant, and all commanded, in the Kings name, to obey and follow him.

It hath been reported by thoſe who were acquainted with *Oliver*, that the Commiſſion was not read, but that at his very ſight ſuch a tumult, confuſed clamour, and enter ſhouldering of Male contents aroſe, their rancks were broken, the military order turned into a confuſion, none ſo repining as the Lord *Maxwel* and the Borderers; Who if he had had patience to have heard the Commiſſion (as *Oliver* proteſted) was Lieutenant, and not he, whoſe charge was only to preſent it.

The *Engliſh* who now were ready for the Fight, obſerving this diſorder, take the advantage upon the occaſion, and brake forwards with a military ſhout, whilſt the others are in doubt whether to flee or ſtand, and the Guidiats and Scullons are peſle meſle thronging with the foot Soldiers and they with the Horſemen. Here is a general ſurprize, moſt part willingly rendering themſelves to the *Engliſh* without any ſhew of defence, or the ſlaughter of any perſon

ſon of any ſide. This overthrow proveth that neither arms nor the multitude and numbers of Souldiers without their love and hearts availeth any thing in a Field, yea rather they are hurtful the more in number they be, if their affection be alienated from their Commanders.

It is recorded that at this road, which was named *Solloway-Moſs*, every *Engliſh* had three or four *Scots* for Priſoners, and when their wanted men to take them, the women of the neighbouring Hamelet and Boys had Priſoners; the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Flammin*, *Sommervail*, *Olivant*, *Gray*, *Robert Areskin* Son to the Lord *Areskin*, *Oliver Saintclair*; The Lairds of *Craggy*, *Aytoun*, *Langtoun*, *Ormeſtoun*, *Waughtoun*, many of the Kings Domeſtick Servants were taken Priſoners, brought to *London*, and remained there till after the Kings death.

The certainty of this voluntary defeat comming to the King at *Loch-Maban* (or *Carlawſroke* as others) ſo aſtoniſhed all the powers of his mind that he neither had counſel nor reſolution what to follow, neither remembring his own valour, nor the number of his Subjects yet flouriſhing; he remained as one diſtracted, and abandonned of all hopes. The Plot of the Nobles at *Falla-Moor* againſt his Servants, the refuſing to give battel on *Engliſh* ground, made him apprehend that the whole body of his Nobility had conſpired his overthrow.

The Cardinall and Earl of *Arran* comming to *Edenburgh*, he alſo returned; all ſo caſt down that they were aſhamed to come within ſight of each other ſome daies.

After which, in a retired manner, he paſſed to *Fyffe*, and from *Hall-yards* to *Faulkland*, where he gave himſelf over to Sorrow. No man had acceſs unto him, no, not his own Domeſticks. Now are his thoughts buſied with revenge, now with rage againſt his ſcorntul Nobility: long watchings, continuall cares, and paſſions, abſtinence from food, and recreation, had ſo extenuated his body, that pierced with grief, anguiſh, impatience, deſpair, he remained fixt to his bed.

In theſe Trances Letters come from *Lithgow* to him, That the Queen was delivered of a Daughter the eight of *December*. When he heard it was a Daughter was born, he is ſaid to have turned his face from them that read the Letters, and ſighing a farewell to the World, It will end as it began (ſaies he) the Crown came by a woman, and it will with one go; many miſeries approach this poor Kingdome; King *Henry* will either make it his by Armes or Marriage.

The Cardinall put in his hands ſome blanck Papers,

of which they composed a Letter Will, which whether he subscribed or not, is uncertain. After which he said not many words which could be understood, but mused on the discomfiture of his Servants at the *Solloway-Moss*. In which fits he left this world the thirteenth of *December* 1542. the three and thirtieth year of his age and two and thirty of his Reign.

Some record he was troubled by an unkindly medicine, and that the Cardinal was conscious to it, but upon far conjectures: for the event proved that his death was not onely the ruine of the Cardinall, but of the whole Church-men of the Kingdom, and frame of the Roman Religion. His body was conveyed from *Faulkland* to *Edenburgh*; the Cardinal, Earls of *Arran*, *Arguil*, *Rothess*, *Marshal*, accompanying it; and in *January* buried in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-house*, near the body of *Magdalen* his first Queen. He left behind him many natural children; of his Marriages only one daughter, five daies old at his death, the Heir of his Kingdom and misfortunes.

This King was of a well made body and excellent mind, if it had been carefully polisht; he was of a middle stature; Nature had given him strength and ability equal to any; but by exercise he had so confirmed it, that he was able to endure any travel, and practice all feats of Arms, as his attending on Malefactors proved; for he was ordinary thought the first of his Troups who persued them, and the last that left the chase, being daring and forward. In his private affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet spared his Treasure that he should not want; and when occasion required, caring for no charges. Never man did entertain Soveraignity more familiarly, being of easie access to the meaner sort as to the great. He was studious of all good arts, naturally given to Poesie, as many of his verses yet extant testifie. He was of as great sobriety as of little continency; he was a great favourer of learned men. The poor men loved him, the great feared him; he made the rushy bushes keep the heards of Cattel; he was thankful towards his Friends, dangerous towards his Enemies. He infinitely obliged his people by establishing a Justice Court among them, and bringing all sorts of Manufactours from neighbor nations home. By the *Germans* he found the Gold Mines of *Crawfoord* Moor, being unknown to this part of the world before him, out of which he extracted treasure. He left his Arsenals furnisht with all sorts of arms and furniture for War. Now as in pictures not only the light but the shadow is observable, let us look upon him in all his umbrages. This Prince in his long persuit of the *Dowglasses* seems to have had a strange humour, that he could never forgive;

And

And moſt of his miſeries may be traced to this *Source*; theſe he would have extirpate, and the King of *England* could not forſake a man who was his brother-in-law, and had been ever obſequious to him: Seeking only that he might be reſtord to his own, out of which he was caſt, not by any treaſon or aſpiring to the Crown, but of an ambition he had to be near the King, and equal to any Subject: his own worth, kinred and followers animating him thereunto; having maried the Kings Mother and one of the greateſt Kings Siſter of thoſe times.

The burning alive of the Lady *Glames*, beheading of the Maſter of *Forbeſs*, and after him Sir *James Hamiltoun*, turned many of his Nobles from him, and made the Commons detract him. For though they delight ſometimes to have great men made equal to them, when they find not evident proofs and ſound grounds of their ſufferings and executions, they abhor the Actors. Princes ſhould remember that as the people are their Subjects, ſo are they the Subjects of time and providence.

This humour of revenge made many believe if he had not been prevented by death, many Scaffolds had been embrued for *Falla-moor* Plot, and *Solloway-Moſs*. The Lord *Maxwel*, who had ſtudied the Character of the King, at that Road vowed (when he might have eſcaped among his known Borderers) he would rather be the KING of *Englands* Priſoner, and ſee him at *London*, than return home, and be ſhamefully hanged at the Croſs of *Edenburgh*.

He ſtudied very much the overthrow of his antient Nobility, not conſidering that the titles of Crowns in Hereditary Kingdomes belong only to Kings for that they are the moſt Antient Noblemen, and alſo firſt of the Primitive Bloud.

In his laſt years he was altogether governed by Romiſh Prelates, dangerous Pilots in the Ocean of a troubled State; that Body in which one humour ſignorizeth, cannot laſt long, and a Prince periſheth when he is governed by onely one ſort of men. Neither was he ruled ſo much by them out of great zeal to Religion (being a Prince altogether given to his own pleaſures) as that he found them counterpoiſe the Nobility, whileſt he ſwayed the ballanc.

His death proveth his Mind to have been raiſed to the higheſt ſtrain, and above mediocrity; for he could die, but could not diſgeſt a diſaſter. He ſeemeth to have had too much confidence in himſelf, and that he forgot the conditions of Mortality. Whileſt he ſuffered himſelf to

to be carryed away by the current of grief, and swallowed up in the gulf of despair.

All his faults are but as some few Warts in a most pleasing and beautifull Face. He was very much beholding to the excellent Poets of his time, whose commendation shall serve him for an Epitaph. *Ariosto*, who knew him onely by fame, in the person of *Zerbino*, whom he nameth Prince of *Scotland*, glaunceth at his worth.

Zerbin di Bellezza e di Valore
Sopra tutti i Signori eminente,
Di virtu essempio e di Bellezza raro.

In another place; but *Ronzard*, who with his Queen came to *Scotland*, and was his Domestick Servant, describeth him more to the life.

Ce Roy D' Escosse *estoit en la fleur de ses ans:*
Ses Cheveux non tondus commine fin or luisans
Cordonnez et crespez flotans dessus sa face,
Et sur son col de laict luy donnoit bonne grace.
Son Port estoit royal, son reguard vigoureux.
De vertus, et de honneur, & de guerre amoureux.
La douceur, et la force, illustroient son visage.
Si que Venus *et* Mars *en avoient fait partage.*

So happie is a Prince when he cherisheth and is intertain'd by the rare spirits of his time, that even when his Treasures, Pompe, State, Followers, Diadems, and all externall Glory leave him, the sweet incense of his Fame in the Temple of Honour, perfumeth his Altars. A Prince's name is surer preserved, and more deeply ingraven in Paper, than in all the rusting Medalles, blasted arches, entombed Tombes (which may serve to any as well as to him) raised with such loss of time, vaine labours of Artizans, vast expence, to be the sport of the Windes, Raines, Tempests, Thunder, Earthquakes, or if they shunne all these, of superstition, faction and civil Broyles.

After this Prince had some years rested in a Tombe, not only it, but the most part of the Church was made equal to the ground, by the Armies of his Uncle King *Henry* the eight, whose malice left him not even when he was dead, proving

ing as horrible an Vncle, as *Nero* was a ſon. A while after he was tranſported to another Vault, by the piety of his matchleſs Grand-child *James* King of Great *Britain*; where he was embalmed again, enſhrined and his Coffin adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom, cognoſcances and a Crown. With which Honours I leave him, till ſome famous pen; encouraged by the favours of his Royal Succeſſours, raiſe his Fame from the duſt of obſcure Papers to Eternity.

THE END.

MEMORIALS.

MEMORIALLS OF STATE.

Considerations to the KING.

December 1632.

THere is nothing more dangerous to a King than to ſuffer Majeſty, and that ſacred reſpect which a Subject oweth him to be violated, and his Fame and Reputation leſſened by other mens boldneſs, whoſe preſumption may lead them forwards not onely to dally with his Perſon, but with his Crown. But his ears are ſo often guarded by theſe men, that he never heareth verities till he hath granted what he cannot well amend, and his wounds be incurable. If a Prince hold any thing dear it ſhould be the Right and

Title of his Crown, which concerneth not onely himselt but his Posterity, out of which a small Jewel taken away, maketh it the less Radiant; And to all Subjects that should be as Mount *Sinai*, not to be approached. In every case we should take greater heed to what in it is hurtful, than to what is in it profitable; for what profit and commoditie any thing carrieth with it, easily presenteth it self unto us; but any one point which may hurt us, unless it be observed and carefully taken away, may overthrow and bring to nought all that hath been rightly intended.

The restoring of the Earl of *Monteeth* in blood, and allowing his descent and title to the Earldome of *Strathern* is thought to be disadvantageous to the King's Majesty, and that a more dangerous blow could not be given to the Nobleman himself. We may easily conjecture of things to come and imagine them by those of the like nature which have proceeded. The Stage of the World is the same still, though in times the Actors be changed, and come about again.

For the Kings Majesty, it would be considered if *Henry* the sixth King of *England* would, if it had been in his power, reclaimed the approbation restoring in bloud and allowing of the descent and title of *Richard* Duke of *York*, who openly in Parlament thereafter made claim for the Crown, as in his own right, laying down thus his title.

The Son of *Ann Mortimer* who came of *Philipe* the Daughter and sole heir of *Leonel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to King *Edward* the third, is to be preferred by very good right in Succession of the Kingdom before the children of *John* of *Gaunt* the fourth Son of the said *Edward* the third: but *Richard* Duke of *York* is come of *Philipe* the Daughter and sole Heir of *Leonel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to K. *Edward* the third, then to be preferred before the children of the fourth Son who was *Henry*.

The like reason may be alleged in the Title of the Earl of *Strathern*. The children of a first marriage by the common Law are to be preferred in the Succession before the children of the second marriage; for the marrying of *Elizabeth Moor* did but legitimate and make her children to succeed after the children of the first marriage.

As for the authority of a Parliament, it would be considered, whether or not the Authority of a Parlament may confer and entail a Crown from the lawful Heir thereof, to the next apparent heirs. Or if an Oath given unto a King by mans Law should be performed, when it tendeth to the suppression of Truth and Right which stand by the Law of God. Then if one Parlament hath power to entail a Crown, whether

whither may not another Parliament upon the like consideratiōns restore the same to the righteons heirs.

But the Subject resigneth all his right to his King. It would be considered whether a Subject may safely capitulate with his Prince, that is to say, give over and quit-claim all right and title which he hath to his Soveraigns Crown, his Right being sufficient, and if by his capitulation his heirs be bound, and if it be honourable for a Prince to accept his conditions.

The trouble which *Edward Baliol* raised in *Scotland*, is yet recent to the Readers of Histories.

Notwithstanding that his Father *Iohn Baliol* had resigned unto *Robert* King of *Scotland* all the right and title which he or any other of his had, or thereafter might have to the Crown of *Scotland* concerning any interest or claim which might be avouched for any cause or consideration: He, *anno* 1355. gave to *Edward* the third, King of *England*, a full resignation of his pretended Right of the Crown of *Scotland*, As before, being assisted by the said King and the confederate Gentlemen of *Scotland* in a Parlament holden at *Perth*, where he had been confirmed King of *Scotland* by the three Estates.

It would be considered if the Pope, the Kings of *Spain* or *France* after some revolutions of years, seeking to trouble the Estate and peace of this Isle, should entertain and maintain one of the Heirs of the Earls of *Strathern* (as *Queen Elizabeth* did *Don Antonio* the Prior of *Crato*, who claimed the Crown of *Portugal*, to reclaim whose Kingdome She sent the Earl of *Essex* and *Drake*) or should marry one of them to their neerest Kinswomen, and send him armed with power to claim his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, as King *James* the fourth of *Scotland* practised upon *Perkin Warbeck*, naming himself *Richard* Duke of *York*; to whom he gave in marriage Lady *Katharine Gordoun* Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, and thereafter with all his forces, to estable his said Ally in his Title invaded *England*. It would be considered whether they had a fair bridge to come over to this Isle.

It would likewise be considered if the Earl of *Strathern*, though a mean Subject, these two hundred years, having been debarred from all title to the Crown, and now by the indulgency and exceeding favour of the Prince, being restored to his descent in bloud and served Heir to his great Progenitors, and indirectly as by appendices to the Crown, if either out of displeasure, or for want of means to maintain their estates, he or his should sell and dispose their Rights and Titles of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to some migh-

ty and Foreign Prince, such as is (perhaps this day the King of *Sweden*) who wanteth nothing but a title to invade a Kingdom, not knowing whither to discharge his victorious forces. It would be considered if that title disposed to that Prince were sufficient to make him King of *Scotland*. Or if establishing his right upon fair conditions, such as is liberty of conscience, absolution and freedom from all taxes and subsidies, the transferring of Ward lands into fewd, the people of *Scotland* might give him their Oath of Alleagiance; or if he might redact the King of *Scotland* to give him satisfaction and compound for his right of the Crown of *Scotland*.

It would to these be considered, If times should turn away the minds of Subjects from their Prince, by superstition, sedition and absolute Rebellion, as what may not befall an inconstant ever wavering Nation? to an *Aristocratie*, *Oligarchy*, *Democratie*, or absolute *Anarchy*. If the Rebellious subjects and abused Populace might not make advantage of such Men, who draw their titles from *Evanders* mother to trouble the present times.

That nothing could be more dangerous to the Nobleman himself than this service, may be understood by the like examples.

Clouis King of *France* having understood that a Nobleman of *Artois* named *Canacare* blown up by Power, had vaunted that he was come and lineally descended from *Clodion le Chevelu*, and by that same Succession was heir of the Crown of *France*, closed not his ears to it (saies the History) but caused extirpate that Sower of impostures and all his Race.

Henry the fourth King of *England* after the deposure of King *Richard* the second, kept *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who had a just title to the Crown, under such Keepers that he could never do nor attempt any thing till he dyed. But *Henry* the seventh King of *England* took away *Edward Plantaginet* Duke of *Warwick* Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, by reason of his jealousie of Succession to his Uncle *Edward* the fourth.

Margarite Plantaginet his sole Daughter (married to Sir *Richard Pole* knight) by *Henry* the eight restored to the Earldom of *Salisbury*, was attainted threescore and two years after her Father had suffered and was in the Tower of *London* beheaded, in whose person dyed the surname of *Plantaginet*.

Anne Plantaginet Daughter to *Edward* the fourth, being marryed to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* and Duke of *Norfolk* was the ground and chief cause wherefore King *Henry* the eight, cut off the head of *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*; though the

preten-

pretended cause whereon he was arraigned was the bearing certain arms of the house of *York*, which only belonged to the King.

Mary Queen of *England* cut off the head of Lady *Jane Gray* and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, for their title to the Crown; and that same reason was the overthrow and finall destruction of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* by Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Duke of *Guise* by a Genealogy deduced from *Charles* the Great, in the raign of *Henry* the third the *French* King, was thought to aspire to the Crown of *France*, and suffered at last for this and his other presumptions.

It is notoriously known, that these two hundred years the Race of *Euphane Ross* in her children *David* Earl of *Strathern* and *Walter* Earl of *Athole*, and all their Succession by all the Kings of *Scotland* sithence, have been ever suppressd and kept under, and for reason of State should still be kept low and under, unless a Prince would for greater reason of State aduance them, to give them a more horrible blow, and by suborning mercinary men, make them aim above their reach to their last extirpation.

Dum nesciunt distinguere inter summa & præcipitia,
Princeps quem persequitur honorat & extollit in altum.

An intended Speech at the West Gate of Edenburgh *to King* JAMES.

SIR,

IF Nature could suffer Rocks to move and abandon their natural places, this Town, founded on the strength of Rocks (now by the chearing Rayes of your Majesties presence, taking not only motion but life) had with her Castle, Temples and Houses, moved towards you, and besought you to acknowledge her yours, and her indwellers your most humble and affectionate Subjects; And to believe how many souls are within her circuits, so many lives are devoted to your sacred person and Crown. And here Sir She offers by me to the Altar of your glory, whole Hecatombs of most happy desires; praying all things may prove prosperous unto you; that every Virtue and Heroick Grace which make a Prince eminent, may with a long and blessed Goverment attend you. Your Kingdomes flourishing abroad with Bays, at home with Olives; presenting you Sir, who art the strong Key of this little World of Great *Britain*, with those keys which cast up the Gates of her affection, and de-

sign

ſign you power to open all the ſprings of the hearts of thoſe her moſt Loyal Citizens.

Yet this almoſt not neceſſary; For as the Roſe at the fair appearing of the morning Sun, diſplayeth and ſpreadeth her purples; So at the very noiſe of your happy return to this your native Countrey; their hearts (if they could have ſhined through their breſts) were with joy and fair hopes made ſpatious. Nor did they ever in all parts feel a more comfortable heat, than the glory of your preſence at this time darteth upon them.

The old forget their age and look freſh and young at the appearance of ſo gracious a Prince; the young bear a part in your Welcom, deſiring many years of life, that they may ſerve you long; all have more joies than tongues. For as the words of other nations far go beyond and ſurpaſs the affection of their hearts; So in this nation the affection of their hearts is far above all they can expreſs by words. Daign then Sir from the higheſt of Majeſty, to look down on their lowneſs and embrace it; accept the homage of their humble minds; accept their gratefull zeal; and for deeds accept that great good will which they have ever carryed to the high deſerts of your Anceſtors; And ſhall ever to your own, and your Royal Race, whilſt thoſe rocks ſhall be overſhadowed with buildings, buildings inhabited by men, and while men be induced, either with counſel or courage, or enjoy any peice of Reaſon, Senſe, or Life.

An Apologetical Letter.

March 2. 1635.

My Lord,

IN a time when men for reading of Papers concerning State are challenged, it muſt be a great hazard to write them, and a greater to ſend them from home, and the moſt to ſend them to one ſo near the Helm as is your Lordſhip, who the next day (perhaps) may put in the Princes hands what is ſent him. And then, though what is ſet down may be free of great faults, yet muſt it paſs and be underſtood as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. But what *Marius Geminus* ſaid to *Julius Cæſar*, may be ſaid to King *Charles*; *Cæſar, qui apud te audent dicere, magnitudinem tuam ignorant; qui non audent, humanitatem.* And writing to your Lordſhip I know to whom I write. Thus the way of glory lying neer the Gates of danger, I have adventured this ſheet of Paper of which I beſeech your Lordſhip to be both Judge and Patron.

What

What a noiſe hath been raiſed in this Countrey by proſecuting a piece of writing, ſuppoſed to be derogatory to the Honour of the Kings Majeſty! No times have been without ſuch men. Wiſe men keep their thoughts locked up in the Cabinets of their Breſts, and ſuffer the faults of times patiently; Fools rail, cry out, but amend nothing. What ever adviſe hath been given for the putting of Libellers to the extremity of Law, I would ſay (withall humble reſpect to grave Stateſmen) that in a matter of a Calumnie and reproach with Subjects, a Prince can do nothing more fitting his own fame and reputation, than to ſlight and contemn them, as belonging nothing to him; and that twere better to neglect, than be too curious in ſearching after the Authors. So *Theodoſius*, *Honorius Arcadius* were wont to ſay, if any Man ſpeak ill of the Emperour, if he do it of lightneſs, it is to contemned; if of madneſs, to be pittyed; if of injury, to be remitted. And *Alexander* the Great uſed to ſay, *Regium eſt benefacere & male audire*; or as *Plutarch* reporteth it, *Regium eſt a quibus male audias, magis eſſe iis beneficum.* *Nero* (otherwiſe a terrible Prince) when that Paſquil was given out againſt him?

Quis neget Æneæ magna de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic Matrem, ſuſtulit ille Patrem.

Or as *DION* citeth it,

Νερων, Ορεστης, Αλκμαιων, Μητροκτονοι.
Nero, Oreſtes, Alcmæon, Matricida.

He took no notice of it, followed not the Writers with any punishment, ſought them not, as ye find in *Suetonius*, *Et quoſdam ad Judicem delatos ad Senatum, affici graviore poena prohibuit.* Writings which we ſcorn and make none account, of themſelves vaniſh and turn into nought. If we chafe and fret, it would appear that we have been therein touched, and vively ſee in them our own faults and miſdemeanor taxed and laid open.

If theſe Papers for the Kings honour were not to be ſeen and read, or if they did derogate to the fame of the Nobles, why were they not ſuppreſſed and hidden? but is this the way to ſuppreſs and hide them? to impriſon, arraign, baniſh, execute the perſons near whom they are found? or is it not rather to turn them a piece of the Story of the Time to make ſuch a noiſe about them, and by ſeeking to avoid the ſmoak to fall into the fire? what we would moſt evite and ſhun, to be the Authors to bring upon our own heads?

What

What gained Queen *Elizabeth* the twenty three of her Reign, by cutting off the hands of *Stubbes* and *Page* on a Scaffold for writing that Book againſt her marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, ſave that out of horror of that new and unpractiſed puniſhment, the people acknowledged her to be the right and not uncertain daughter of King *Henry* the eight, and ſhe began to be feared, where before ſhe was beloved of her Subjects? whom a people fear they hate, and whom they hate they wiſh taken way. A Prince ſhould be more violent in revenging other mens quarrels than his own. That unfortunate Duke of *Buckingham* in the time of *Richard* the third, could make good uſe, againſt the Succeſſion of the Race of *Edward* the fourth, in his Speech to the Commons of of *London*, by remembring them of the ſtrange proceedings of King *Edward* againſt a Merchant named *Burdet*: who dwelling at the ſign of the Crown, and having ſaid to his Son, that after his death he would make him Heritor of the Crown, meaning his own houſe, was for this Tale in four hours after quartered, which blot is eternally fixed to that Prince.

In the Reign of King *Richard* the third, who had ever known that Paſquil againſt three of his Courtiers, *Louell*, *Ratcliff*, and *Catsby*,

The Rat, *the* Cat, *and Louel that* Dog,
Rule all England *under the* Hog.

If his tyranny had not been mightily extended againſt that poor Gentleman *Collingburn* the Maker of it? Ye will ſay, it is in a Princes power to ſuppreſs ſuch Papers by Authority; That is the only way to make all men ſeek them, and being found highly prize them. *Tacitus* telleth us of certain verſes of *Fabricius Veiento* againſt Church-men and Senatours, which were condemned to be burut; as long as the reading and finding of them was dangerous, they were much ſought for, and with danger read: but being afterwards licentiate to be read, and the liberty of having them obtained, they were forgotten and no man cared for them.

No Prince, how great ſoever, can obliſh Pens, nor will the Memorials of ages be extinguiſhed by preſent power; the poſterity rendering to every one, his due honour and blame. It is true that great men ſhould direct their great care to Fame and hold nothing more dear unto them; and he who contempneth it, neglecteth thoſe actions by which it is acquired: But it is pitty men ſhould be more careful and ſtudious of fame for times to come, in which they are not, than of honeſty in the preſent times in which they live.

Some-

Sometimes it is great wisdom in a Prince not to reject and disdain them who freely tell him his duty, and open to him his misdemeanours to the Common-wealth, and the surmises and umbrages of his people and Council for the amending disorders, and bettering the form of his Government. As if a man should tell King *Charls*, That there is none in all his Kingdoms here can reckon himself Lord of his own goods amongst so many taxes and taillages, so much pilling and polling. So that substance is dayly plucked and pilled from honest men to be lashed out amongst unthrifts, that as *Thucydides* writes of the great plague in his time at *Athens*, Men seeing no hope of safety spent all they had in one night: So the uncertainty of enjoying and holding what they have for the present drawes the thrifty and unthrifty to one end, for no man being sure of Lands, less of moneyes, every man is turned in a desperate carlesness of his estate.

As to tell him also about this Subject who is the subject of this Letter, the People say, Kings seeking Treason shall find Land, and seeking Land shall find Treason. The denyal of a Princes desire was the destruction of an innocent *Naboth*; the voice of the people should not be kept up from the ears of a Prince.

As to unfold to a King, if Usury be not lawful at all (for it is against Nature that money should beget money, and not tolerate by the Mosaical Law, and in *Ezekiel*, cap. 18. v. 13. it is reckoned amongst the roaring sins, such as are Adulterie and bloudshed) it being a sin in the persons of subjects, it is a greater sin in the person of a Prince; for any sin is greater in the person of a Prince, then in the persons of subjects: As sin was worse and greater in Angels than men. Nothing is profitable to a Prince which is not joined with honor; and the State of Kings unless it stand in purenes and fidelity, it cannot subsist in power.

As to tell King *Charles*, what a strange thing it is to swear a man for the true value of his own Substance. Since the valuing of Subjects Lands and Rents, Rents were never less, nor the Lands worse; a secret scourge of God having followed it, the Countrey scarce affording bread to the Labourers of it.

Remember *Davids* numbring the people. In the times of King *Henry* the eight, *Regnante Cardin. Volseio*, this was held uncouth, strange and terrible; and no wonder if men scare and start at it now, under a Prince of so meek a Spirit, so innocently good: who preferreth peace before war, rest before business, honesty before profit. None of all his kingdome, no, not one being more holy, more chaste, nor a better man; in whom raigneth shamefastnes and modesty and

Patience, taking all worldly crosses in good part: never gaping for glory, nor thirsting after riches: but only studying the health of his soul, peace of his Kingdomes, and how to advance the holy Church, and restore her to her first Rents and integrity. But God knoweth what he hath predestinated and ordained for the Scourge of this Country, against whose Ordinance prevaileth no counsel.

A Prince should be advertised that the hatred and distast of mens present estates and fortunes setteth them on work and maketh them exceeding earnest to seek novations; for finding themselves plunged in the beggarie of a miserable estate, as many do believe, it turneth not them base, nor keepeth them under, but raiseth in them a mad desire to change their fortune; and this hath been the ensign of Male-contents to attempt and enterprize dangerous matters; for it hath often been found that nothing hath sooner armed a people than poverty, and poverty hath never so often been brought upon a Nation by the unfruitfulness of the Earth, by disasters of Seas, and other human accidents, as by the Avarice of the Officers and Favourites of Princes; who are brought foolishly to believe that by tearing of the skins of of the flock they shall turn the Shepheard rich. It is no property of a good Shepheard to shear often his flock, and ever to milk them. Nor is it of a Prince to gall and perpetually afflict a people by a terrible Exchequer. *Brutorum se Regem facit qui premit suos.* Now in such Theams it were not evil for a Prince to read *Jan Marianai* and *George Buchanans* piece *de jure Regni apud Scotos*, for his own private and the publick good.

Princes have in their actions this disadvantage, that in matters of wrong and injuries concerning their Subjects, though they sometimes suffer, by reason of their power, being thought stronger, they are ever esteemed to do the wrong, which should move them to abstain from all violent courses, and think really their Subjects losses are their own.

Ye will then say, the case of Princes is pittiful if Writers of infamous Libels be not rigorously punished; without all question the Law is just and necessary against them. But in some cases good Princes never follow the rigour and extremity of punishment set down by their Laws, no, not against the naughtiest Subjects, and especially when the case concerneth their own particulars. There is much to be considered in the convoy of such Libels: If they contain Truths there is small wrong in such papers, as to call *Mary Magdalen* a Sinner, *Matthew* a Publican, *Thomas* a Misbeliever, *Paul* a Persecutor, *Peter* a Denyer of his Master, and the rest fugitives from him, and these are to be slighted and past over.

If

If they contain mixed truths and apparences, they may be neglected; If they admit no interpretation, but true and flat railing, then is a Princes patience to be tryed, and the Libel to be scorned. If they propound novelty and causes of sedition upon apparent grounds, they are to be answered, and by good reason to be overthrown. If they be presented by way of Supplications for redressing of errours in the State, it is a question whether they be Libels or not. That Supplication of *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloncester* to King *Henry* the sixth of *England* against the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* Archbishop of *York* may have place amongst Libels; for the King is taxed there of notable dotage. As that by the counsel of the Cardinal, he had set at Liberty the King of *Scots*, suffered his Jewels and houshold-stuff to be sold, granted the Cardinal a Charter of Pardon for taking up his Rents, which were sufficient to have maintained the wars in *France* many years. The setting of the Duke of *Orleance* at liberty, against the Duke of *Burgundy* the great friend of the *English*, and many other points. Yet this being done by way of Supplication, for redress of wrongs in the State, he was not threatned for (perhaps) verity, but remitted to the Council, and what for fear, and what for favor (saith the *English* History) the whole matter was winked at touching the Duke, and nothing said against the Cardinal. *Miseria summa ubi de injuria conqueri pro delicto habetur.*

These who set their Prince on work to follow and persue such an idle piece of Paper, if they had fair Judges, and powerful enemies neer the Court, may themselves be brought within compass of that same punishment, which they would have laid upon others; as *Perillus* was brought to take an Essay of his own brazen Bull: for no better are they which relate, divulgate and are occasioners to have infamous Libels published, than they which write them. And these men have done what in them lay to make that Paper publike, and have recorded in the *Annals* of this Kingdom to all ages, what should have been smothered in the darkest pits of Oblivion. They have often assembled the Kings Majesties Subjects to the great charges and vain attendance of many Noblemen and Barons to see their passions put forward. They have busied the Prince to condemn others by power (a Minister of their attempts) and not purge himself to posterity; for such a Paper should have been answered by a Pen, not by an Ax. There is no Prince living, no, nor dead, but Subjects have and do both write and speak of after their fantasies. *Augustus* in a Letter to *Tiberius*, *Noli in hac re indagere et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me loquatur male; satis est enim si hoc habemus ne quis malefacere possit.* And

Tiberius in the beginning of his raign (though after he killed *Cremutius Codrus* for words) was wont to say, *in Civitate libera linguam quoque liberam esse debere.* Wise Princes have never troubled themselves much about talkers; weak spirits cannot suffer the liberty of judgements, nor the indiscretion of tongues. To strive to restrain them, is the work of busie Bodies, who would fain have somewhat to do, but know not what, nor how to help *Domitian* to kill gnats with his Dagger; having won points and conclusions heretofore in the State beyond their hopes, they begin to foster great and shameful hopes beyond the reach of all obtaining. A Prince should be such towards his Subjects as he would have God eternal towards him, who full of mercy spareth peopled Cities, and darteth his Thunders amongst the vast and wilde Mountains.

To ARABELLA *Countess of* Lothian.

Madam,

AS those Antients who when they had given over with credit any facultie wherein they excelled, were wont to offer the Tools and Instruments of their Art to the Shrine of some Deity: My Musical recreations giving place to more laborious, serious, (my Lute these many daies (like my mind) lying out of tune, keeping no harmony in perfect discord) I offer these airs and tabulature to your Ladiships harmonious Virtues; and to whom could they more deservedly appertain, than unto her whose goodness of nature, and eminent known virtues of mind, may justly intitle the onely Grace and Muse of our Northern Climate. Though the Gift be not much worth, I hope your Ladiship will daign to accept it as if it were a greater and more precious from a Giver brought already in admiration of your Ladiships worth, and who desireth nothing more than to remain

Your Ladiships to command.

W. DRUMMOND.

To Isabella *Countess of* Perth.

Madam,

YOur Courtesie hath prevented me, it being mine to offer you thanks, both for esteeming me worthy so honourable a Task, and for measuring those lines according

ding to affection, and not their worth; for if they had any, it was all (as the Moon hath her light) borrowed from the Rayes of your Ladiſhips own invention. But this quality becometh well your ſweet diſpoſition, and the generoſity of that Noble Stem of which you have your birth; as doth the erecting of that notable Monument to your all-worthy Lord; by the which ye have not onely obliged all his kinred now living, but in ages to come the unborn poſterity to render you immortal Thanks. Your Deſert and good opinion of me have by a gracious violence (if I can be ſo happy as to do you ſervice) won me to remain, your Ladiſhips

Ever to Command,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable JOHN *Earl of* PEARTH.

My Noble LORD,

THough as *Glaucus* ſaies to *Diomed* in *Homer*,

Like the Race of Leaves, the Race of Man is,

that deſerves no queſtion: nor receives his being any other breath; the Wind in *Autumn* ſtrowes the Earth with old leaves, then the Spring the Woods with new indews; yet I have ever thought the knowledge of kinred, and the Genealogies of the antient families of a Countrey, a matter ſo far from contempt, that it deſerveth higheſt praiſe. Herein conſiſteth a part of the knowledge of a mans own ſelf. It is a great ſpur to virtue to look back on the worth of our line. In this is the memory of the dead preſerved with the living: being more firm and honourable than any Epitaph. The living know that band which tyeth them to others. By this man is diſtinquiſhed from the reaſonleſs, and the noble of Men from the baſer ſort. For it often falleth out, though we cannot tell how, for the moſt part that generoſity followeth good Birth and Parentage. This moved me to eſſay this Table of your Lordſhips houſe, which is not inferiour to the beſt in this Iſle and greateſt. It is but roughly (I confeſs) hewen, nakedly limmed, and after better informations to be amended. In Pieces of this kind, who doth

doth according to such light as he receiveth, is beyond reprehension.

Your Lordships humble

Servant and Kinsman,

W. Drummond.

To the Right Honourable J. Earl *of* T.

My Lord,

THe Ocean, though great Rivers with many currents pay him Tribute, disdains not to receive also the lesser loyal, though ignoble, Brooks, which by one only Urn powre themselves into his bosom; no more will your Lordship, after the many congratulations of your Countrey, of the State, of your great Friends, reject the applause of the Muses (fair, though contemned, Mistress) who by me offer this Posy of Flowres to your Lordship (who is the flowre of Nobleness) in acknowledgment of your Lordships constant zeal towards them, and their many obligations towards you, congratulating your prosperous Fortunes, which they wish to encrease, and praying the heavens at last may turn so propitious to virtue and true worth, that though they do not reward them upon Earth, yet the world may see that they do not suffer them ever to lie oppressed. They have fair hopes that the advancement of your Lordship is the advancement of them, for the body preceding, the shadow must follow. Your Lordship being near the helm of the State, they expect a new *Saturnian* world: knowledge must florish, ignorance decay (as Mists before the Sun) Innocency live guarded, oppression trampled, and they shall no longer hereafter have occasion to wish, ask, or complain.

Your Lordships Servant,

W. Drummond.

To the truely Noble S. R. C. *Gentleman of the Kings Majesties Bed-Chamber.*

SIR,

HOw joyful were all here who either love worth in others or are conscious of any part of it in themselves, to hear the

the happy event of your late danger? but yet the apprehension of what might have fallen forth (if Providence had not otherwise disposed) doth still with a pensive fear possesse their minds. It was too much hazarded in a point of Honour; why should true Valour have answered fierce Barbarity, Nobleness Arrogancy, Religion Impiety, Innocency Malice? The disparagement being so vast. Was it for knowing this when ye left us, that ye graved with your *Diamond* in a Window;

Frail Glass thou beareſt this name as well as I,
And none doth know in which it first shall dye.

And had ye then to venter to the hazard of a Combate the exemplary of virtue, and the Muses Sanctuary? the lives of twenty such as his who hath fallen, in Honours Ballance would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for these times, in which, as in a time of Plague, men must once be sick, and that deadly, ere they can be assured of any safety. Would I could perswade you in your sweet walks at home to take the prospect of Court Shipwracks; forgive mine importunity; your many courtesies in my behalf, and the World, which is a Witness of them, force me to bear a part in all your Fortunes, and ever, whilst I remain my self to be,

To serve you,

February 10.
1620. W. Drummond.

To the Right Honourable Earl of L.

My Noble Lord,

OF that duty I ow to your Lordship, and love to your honourable Father, I have adventured to bear a part in his Obsequies, a work I must confess profuse; no verses of mine, nor any others, having power to add any thing to his noble Memory, being so strongly upholden by your Lordship, and his other excellent children, that it is like to be contemporary with the World. For whatsoever hath now failed of the honour I intended, I beseech your Lordship to accept my serviceable and infallible love for all supplement. If your Lordship esteem these among the Scutcheons, Colours, and other day-lasting Ornaments of the Funeral pomp, I shall hold them sufficiently

sufficiently honoured, and in what is within the compasse of my power, remain,

Your Lordships ever to command,

W. Drummond.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

IN this storm of the State I had resolved to set my affairs in order, exposing all to the hazard of what might fall forth, and fly to the shadow of your Lordship, finding at this time, that not to prove true, *Minima Parvitate sua tuta sunt*; for the humility of my fortune, and my retired and harmless form of living, could not save me from being imployed to serve here the ambition of the great Masters of the State; as if I had no more to do with time, I was appointed to spend it in attending the Committee of the Shire; at my first initiation charged to be at that fatal service, and horrible execution of *Dunglass*; they directed me to ravage and plunder the more peaceable neighbours about; this *Trojan* Horse laboured to give me a command over Horses. All which imployments being contrary to my education and estate, knowing, that *Pareil sier Pareil a nulle Puissance*, and that they were not my lawful Masters, I shuned and performed no more than pleased me, which acquired me no small Spight. If the Parlament of *England*, and matters since fallen forth, had not a little cooled this fervency or frenzy, I knew not where to have found sanctuary, save with your Lordship, nor knew I what thanks to render your Lordship, for your gracious protection, and many courtesies offered me. If I should sacrifice my fortunes, liberty, life, I would rather lose them for your Lordship, than for any *Democracy*. Your Lordships favours shall be ever be remembred, and sought to be deserved in what is within the compass of performing, and power of

Your Lordships

Humble Servant.

Hawthorn-Den
Decemb. 1. 1640.

W. Drummond.

To

To the Learned and Worthy Gentle-woman.

Worthy M.

I should be too ambitious, I will not say arrogant, if I thought that honour, which you give me in your delicate Verses to be due to the honoured, and not rather to the honourer. They reflect and turn back unto your self (as to a more renowned wonder) that praise by desert, which ye bestow upon me of your meer courtesie. Alas my Muses are of no such value to deserve the blazon of so pregnant and rare a wit. Perhaps ye raised them to show the highness of your spirit, which ever transcendeth mean measures or to make known how excellently ye can praise any thing that you please. But howsoever (praise being the reward of virtue, and proceeding from so sound a judgement, and one so praise-worthy) I will think hereafter my Muses worthy praise, because ye held them such, or if they were such before, that they were such because they were ordained to be praised and loved of you. I can but admire your ingine and thank your courtesie, and wish that time and fortune may prove so gracious, accomplishing my desires, to make me know how to acquite them, till which occasion as ever you have me,

Your most

To his Worthy Friend, S. G. K.

SIR,

WHen out of curiosity this last week I had entred these large and spatious Galleries, in which the Fair of St. *German* is kept, and had viewed the diverse Merchandize and Wares of the many nations at that Mart, above the rest I was much taken with the daintiness of the many Pourtraicts there to be seen. The devices, Posies, Ideas, Shapes, Draughts, of the Artificers were various, nice, and pleasant. Scarce could the wandring thought light upon any Storie, Fable, Gayetie, which was not here represented to the view. If *Cebes* the *Theban* Philosopher made a Table hung in the Temple of *Saturn*, the Argument of his rare *Moralities*, and *Jovius* and *Marini*, the Pourtraicts in their *Galleries* and *Libraries* the subject of some books; I was

brought to think I should not commit a great fault, if I sent you for a token, from this Mart a Scantling of this Ware: which affordeth a like contentment to the Beholder and possessour.

The Pictures of the *Roman Emperours* appeared in one Plate, those of the Bishops with the Triple Crowns in another, with those of all the Kings and great Princes in *Europe*. *Lucretia* was showing her bleeding breast; on this Table *Flora* her bewitching Twins, on that not far from these *Mars* is surprized by the *Lemnian*, and the Senate of the Gods are all laughing; near by *Jupiter* is comming down in a golden Showre in his *Danaes* lap. One would have wished *Argos* his eyes to gaze on *Hellen* in the prime of her beauty, as when the *Phrygian* Youth stole her away, or *Theseus*, in one place of the Table, and see her distilling tears for the ruin of *Troy* in another. The *Agamemnon* of *Timantes* at the sacrifice of *Hermione* was here to be seen. And what did surpass that in Invention, a Painter had hidden the imperfection of the work of his Work, who having painted a Lady which had but one eye, he had set her face so cunningly that her one side appearing onely to the view, left a desire in the Beholder, to wish for the other, which one could not but imagine beautiful, at which she seemed to smile. The Father of our Factions, *Mevnides* himself, was here represented, with closed eyes, and a long beard of the colour of the Night, to whom was the honour of *Mantua* adjoined, his head wreathed with Baies, his face was somewhat long, his cheeks scarce with a small down discrying his Sex; that they might be known after so many years, the Crafts-man had set down, *They were thus standing in the* Roman *Capitol*. The *Cyprian* Goddess was in divers shapes represented. The first was naked as she appeared on the Hills of *Ida*, or when she arose from her foamy Mother, but that she should not blush, the Painter had limmed her entring a Green Arbour, and looking over her shoulder; so that there were only seen her back and face. Another had drawn her naked, her face, brests, belly to the view exposed, her blind child by her, but to cover that which delighted *Mars* so much, he made her arm descend to take hold of *Cupid*, who did imbrace her. The third had drawn her lying on a Bed with stretched out arms, in her hand she presented to a young man (who was adoring her, and at whom little Love was directing a Dart) a fair face, which with much ceremony he was receiving, but on the other side, which should have been the hinder part of that head, was the Image of death; by which *mortality* he surpassed the others more than they did him by *Art*. It were to be wished this picture were still before the eyes of dolting Lovers.

On

On a Table there was a horſe tumbling on his back with his four feet towards the Heaven, which was thought to be *Sejanus* ſo fatal to his Maſters, being ſo proportionable and to the life painted, a *German* offered Gold for him, but he accuſed the Painter that he had not painted him running: which the Painter eaſily amended by turning up of the other ſide of the Table: ſo ſmall a diſtance is between the extremities of mortall things. So with little pains a countenance laughing is made to weep, and one weeping to laugh. Whoſe thoughts are ſo ſad and fixed to the cares of this World, which could not have been ſequeſtrated for a time from them, and delighted with the aſpect of the countenances of the *Ladies* of the differing Climates of the Globe of this Earth, repreſented unto us as the blazing aſterilms of Heaven? The *Spaniſh* ſeeming proud and diſdainful, but that her eye ſpoke ſomewhat elſe, and her pale colour approaching to aſhes, did ſhow ſhe harboured languiſhing perturbations. The *French* looking Courteous and toward, but ſuch courteſie and towardneſs ſeemed not to entertain baſe imaginations: The *Engliſh* mild and humble with ſuch eyes as *Venus* uſed to ſmile with in the daies of *Homer*. The *Venetian Lady* appeared the Nobleſt *Lover*, for ſhe neither thundered diſpair nor promiſed hope, yet did ſhe lend her ear to the ſoul-charming ſounds of a *Lute*. The *Roman* was almoſt naked from the waſte upwards, diſcovering the Siſtering Apples of her *Breſt*, and what might be, without a bluſh, ſeen, which would have rowſed old *Neſtor*. The *Grecian* reſembled *Our Engliſh*, but that her face was more *Round*; She wore on her head a *Garland*, which made her looks more *grave* than the *Others*. The *Turkiſh* differed little from the *Roman*, only She ſomewhat appeared more *Thais* like. The *Mooriſh* had her eyes black, rolling and wanton, and her face was as black as her eyes. Where (who could think it, ſave he who did ſee it?) by the comely proportion of her face, her ſhining hair enriched with Jewels, and her ears beautified with Gemms, ſhe was near as pleaſant (beauty muſtering it ſelf in blackneſs and a comely behaviour) as thoſe others of *Europe*. I had almoſt forgotten the *Belgick* and theſe neighbour Countreys, in whom the pure natural colours of beauty appeared. The firſt to ſhow the lightneſs of her ſex, was all in Feathers, the others differed not much from her but was further off from *Art*, and looked more Countrey-like.

Not far from thoſe was *Caſſandra*, her haires ſo covering her face that *Lycophron* might well have known her. The *Sybels* by her ſighed out their Prophecies.

To theſe was joined the Picture of a yonng Ladie, whoſe

hair drew neer the colour of *Amber*, but with ſuch a bright luſtre that it was above *Gold* or *Amber*, her eyes were ſomewhat green, her face round, where the Roſes ſtrove to ſurpaſs the Lillies of her Cheecks, and ſuch an one ſhe was limmed as *Apelles* would have made choiſe of for the beauty of *Greece*. She was ſaid to be the *Aſtrea* of the Marqueſſe *D' Urſee*.

Many famous battails of the antients were repreſented, ſome of the later times, above all others the Crafts-men had ſtriven to ſhew to the life the Battel of *Le Panto*, the flying *Turks* and following *Chriſtians*. Some Galliaſſes made a ſport to the winds, others all in flames in the midſt of the Seas; the divers poſtures of fighting and periſhing Souldiers with the ſcattered Oars, Planks and Enſigns, might have made ſome dream they were amidſt theſe though in quietneſs, and one the Seas whilſt they were ſafe on ground. Many Towns were here to be travailed thorough at an eaſie rate, *Rome*, *Naples*, *Florence*, *Conſtantinople*, *Vienne*, and without paſſing the Seas, *London* and *Venice*.

Here were many double Pictures, the firſt view ſhew old men and young Miſers gathering carefully, the ſecond view ſhew young men and prodigals ſpending riotouſly, with *ſtultitiam patiuntur opes*. Churchmen and grave Senatours conſulting and ſeriouſly deliberating the one face of the Pictue repreſented, the other Fools dancing, Souldiers dicing and fighting. A Lady weeping over her dead Huſband, accompanyed with many Mourners, the firſt view, the ſecond repreſented her ſecond Nuptials, Nymphs and Gallants revelling naked, and going to Bed.

Now when I had conſidered all (for theſe Galleries were a little All, if ye pleaſe) caſting mine eyes a ſide I beheld on a fair Table the Pourtraicts of two which drew my thoughts to more ſeriousneſs than all the other. The firſt clad in a Sky-coloured Mantle bordered with ſome red, was laughing, and held out his finger by way of demonſtration in ſcorn to another in a ſable Mantle, who held his arms a croſs, declined his head pittifully and ſeemed to ſhed tears. The ſhewed that he was *Democritus*, the other that he was *Heraclitus*. And truely conſidering all our actions except thoſe which the Service and Adoration of God Almighty, they are either to be lamented or laughed at, and man is alwaies a Fool, except in Miſery, which is a Whit-Stone of Judgement.

PARIS,
Febr. 12.

To

To S. W. A.

SIR,

THe promise given by me to a dying friend shall at this time I hope excuse mine importunity. He requested me to remember his love to you, and that desire he ever had to do you service. And though dying so lively expressed this affection that who would set it in Paper had need of his own eloquence. This remembrance he left, made me to be in this his Executor in delivering this Legacie. Some Papers he left also concerning some of your affairs, which because death prevented his delivering of them to me, I think are looſed in the Stuff of his Cabinet. Your absence increased greatly that Melancholy which bereft us of him. If any thing more pretious had been left to my Trust, ye might have been assured it had been delivered to you by your

W. DRUMMOND.

To the truely Noble S. R. K. *Gentleman of the Kings* Bed Chamber.

SIR,

HOw ever fortune turn her Wheel I find you still your self, and so ballasted with your own worth, that ye may out-dare any Storm. This is that Iewel which neither change of Court, nor Climates, can rob you of; of what is yours, ye have lost nothing. By this Quadran I have ever measured your height; neither here could the vapours of Court make me err.

Long since I learned not to esteem of any golden Butterflies there, but as of Counters, whose Places give them onley worth. Ye are born to act brave parts on this Theatre of the World, as your Prince is wise, so I am assured he is well read in Man, and knows ye are not one to be lost. What know ye to what end that Soveraign Wisdom, who hath hitherto been so strong a Defence unto you, hath removed you from your Countrey? By this means ye may return more welcome, more beloved, and with greater honor than when you left her. How oft hath plaintful means brought men to that happiness, which in their prosperity they never could reach in their thoughts nor expect? Now since your

your departure I verily think all our life to be but a Dream, and that God hath placed our happineſs elſewhere. He is onely miſerable and wretched who holdeth himſelf ſuch: as that man onely bleſſed who is content with a little. Happineſs conſiſting neither in honour nor riches, but in an equality and moderation of Deſires. Forgive my free writing, I have not had leiſure to vail my thoughts, your Brothers departing being ſo unexſpected.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

AFter a long inquiry about the Arms of your Lordſhips antient Houſe, and the turning of ſundry Books of *Impreſaes* and *Herauldry*, I found your *UNDES* famous and very honourable.

In our neighbour Countrey of *England* they are born, but inverſed upſide down, and diverſified. *Torquato Taſſo* in his *Rinaldo* maketh mention of a Knight who had a Rock placed in the Waves with the Word *Rompe ch' il percote.* And other hath the Seas waves with a *Syren* riſing out of them, the word *Bella Maria*, which is the name of ſome Courtezan. *Antonio Perenotto, Cardinal Gravella* had for an *Impreſa* the Sea, a Ship in it, the word *Durate* out of the firſt of the *Æneades, Durate et voſmet rebus ſervate ſecundis. Tomaſo de Marini Duca di terra nova* had for his *Impreſſa* the Waves with a Sun over them, the Word *Nunquam ſiccabitur æſtu.* The Prince of *Orange* uſed for his *Impreſa* the *Waves* with an *Halcyon* in the midſt of them, the word, *Mediis tranquillus in undis*, which is rather an Embleme than *Impreſa* becauſe the figure is in the word. By reaſon of your *Lordſhips* name and the long continuance in your Houſe to none they appertain more righly than to your Lordſhip. *Drum* is in the old *Celtique* and *Britiſh* Language an *Height*, and *Onde* in all the Countreys almoſt of *Europe* a Wave; which word is ſaid to have bin given a in Storm by *Margarite* Queen of *Scotland* to a Gentleman who accompanied her, the firſt of your Lordſhips Houſe. But to make an Inquiry in firnames were now too long.

W. Drummond.

To the truely Noble S.R.K.

COntentments are never so really Contentments as when they come after some calamity.

------Afflictions meet
And mingling with our Joyes make them more sweet.

After your late danger and long absence by your kindly returning to your Countrey and Recovery of lossed favours, this hath doubled it self: We erre often by deeming those things hurtful, which are but changes for our greater Good; Crosses serve for many uses, and more than Magistracies decipher the Man. Brave minds like lamps are discerned when they are canopyed with the night of affliction: and like Rubies give the fairest lustre when they are rubbed. The sight of so many stately Towns and differing manners of Men; the conquest of such friends abroad, and tryall of these at home, the leaving of your Remembrance so honourable to after times, have made you more happy in your distress, than if, like another *Endymyon*, ye had sleeped away that swift course of daies in the embracements of your Mistres the Court. Forgive my Comparison, for if Courts be changing Moons; why should not favorites be *Endymions*? I write often unto you, for that in way of friendship I had rather be charged for super-abundancy than defect: from him who is no more his own than by respect and affection yours.

W. Drummond.

To his much honoured friend M.A.J. *Physitian to the* KING.

IT is more praise-worthy in Noble and excellent things to know something, though little, than in mean and ignoble matters to have a perfect knowledg. Amongst all those rare Ornaments of the mind of Man, *Poesie* hath had a most eminent place, and been in high esteem, not only at one time, and in one Climate, but during all times and through those parts of the world where any ray of humanity and civility hath shined. So that she hath not unworthily deserved the name of the Mistres of humane life, the height of Eloquence, the quintessence of knowledge, the loud Trumpet of Fame, the language of the Gods. There is not any thing

thing endureth longer: *Homers Troy* hath outlived many Republikes, and both the *Roman* and *Gracian* Monarchies; she subsisteth by her self; and after one demeaner and continuance her beauty appeareth to all ages. In vain have some men of late (Transformers of every thing) consulted upon her Reformation, and endeavoured to abstract her to *Metaphysical Ideas*; and *Scolastical Quiddities*, denuding her of her own habits, and those Ornaments with which she hath amused the world some thousand years. *Poesie* is not a thing that is yet in the finding and search, or which may be otherwise found out, being already condescended upon by all Nations, and as it were established *jure Gentium*, amongst *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*. Neither do I think that a good Piece of *Poesie*, which *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Petrarch*, *Bartas*, *Ronsard*, *Boscan*, *Garcilasso* (if they were alive) and had that language, could not understand, and reach the sense of the writer. Suppose these men could find out some other new *Idea* like *Poesie*, it should be held as if Nature should bring forth some new *Animal*, neither Man, Horse, Lyon, Dog, but which had some Members of all, if they had been proportionably and by right Symetry set together. What is not like the Antients and conform to those Rules which hath been agreed unto by all times, may (indeed) be something like unto *Poesie*, but is no more *Poesie* than a Monster is a man. Monsters breed admiration at the first, but have ever some strange loathsomness in them at last. I deny not but a *Mulet* is more profitable than some Horses, yet is it neither Horse nor Ass, and yet it is but a Mulet. There is a Taile told of a poor miserable Fellow accused of Bestiality; and he at his *Arraignment* confessed, That it was not out of any evil intention he had done it, but onely to procreat a Monster, with which (having nothing to sustain his life) he might win his bread going about the Countrey. For the like cause it may be thonght these men found out their new *Poesie* differing from the Matters, Manners, Rules of former ages; either they did not see the way of *Poesie* or were affraid to enter it. The verses of *Camillus Quernus* as they are imitated by *Strada* seem very plausible and to admiration to some, but how far they are off right *Poesie* children may guess. These mens new conceptions approach neerer his, than to the Majesty and Statelinesse of the great Poets. The contempt and undervaluing of verses hath made men spare their travel in adorning them; but *Poesie*, as it hath overcom ignorance, at last will overcom envy and comtempt. This I have been bold to write unto you, not to give you any instruction, but to manifest mine obedience to your request.

W. D.

To

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sterlin.

WHen the pittiful news came of so dear Funerals, though I had an intention to have written to your Lordship, I restrained my self, both because your wound was flagrant, and that I had not an argument of comfort, which was not your own. Nothing is now left me but to manifest that the sense of this loss could not but perplex him grievously who never made any difference between your fortunes and his own. I hold my self Copartner of all your Griefs as I have been of your prosperities. I know your Fatherly affrction, I know too your constancy, which being seasoned with piety, will not suffer you to repine at that which is the determinate will of God. Your eruditi-on and experience instruct you, that such accidents should be taken in a good part, and chearfully, which are not incident to us alone, and which by our sighs, tears, plaints, we may not evite and put far from us; ye must not attend till time mitigate your languor, for this do the vulgar sort of men, with *sola dies poterit tantum lenire dolorem.* A wise man should prevent and anticipate time, over-run newborn Grief, which is an ungrateful Guest, thrusting out and ran sacking the Masters of their Inn. I who am conscious to your patience and wisdom, am assured ye have perfor med all this already, upon which confidence I will leave off to trouble you further, or lay a heavier burthen and needless task upon my self.

W. Drummond.

To------

SHould ye think to escape this Enemy of Virtue, *Fortune*, when she never spareth the most Worthy? who hath e-ver yet in many excellencies been eminent, whom she hath not either after one fashion or other, it not trampled yet tos-sed? and make not a long search in the old ages of the world, and through the Mists of *Antiquity*, but look upon our own Times, and our Fathers. Ye have *Sidney* cropped in the vigour of his Youth by a murthering Bullet; *Rawleigh* brought to a fatal Scaffold; *la Nove*, with the Marquess *D' Urfee* complaining in miserable Prisons; *Tasso* famishing in the like Thraldom; the two Counts of *Mirandula* Specta-

cles of Pitty and Cruelty, the one by too soon a Death (if death can be too soon) the other by being assassinated by his neerhst kinsemen. As if Excellencies were the only Object of Disasters, and some secret influence laboured to make the bravest of men and the baseſt equal. Or that the superiour powers thought Glory to belong only to them, and no praise-worthy Actions should befal poor Mortals. Yet should they not envy silly men a dusty honour, which in some small moments of time vanisheth, and reacheth no further than the narrow bounds of some few Climates of this small Globe of the Earth. We may doubt whether Excellencies and Heroical Virtues were to be desired with so many dangers aud miseries lackying them, or a homebred, untaught, rude *Plebeian* life.

W. DRUMMOND.

To S. W. A.

SIR,

MY silence this time past proceeded no waies of any forgetfulness of you, but from my many new cares, and sorrows. The loss of so many friends this season hath estranged me from my self, and turned my mirth into mourning; what civil arms and discord have performed in other kingdomes of *Europe*, a still mortality hath done in this. So many Funerals these many years have not been seen as in this one. There are few bands of kinred, societies, acquaintances, friendship, which by death are not broken here, without respect of Age, vigour, ranck, quality; and justly this mortality might claim the name of Pestilence, if the Dead were deprived of customary burial. Well have some Astrological Divines guessed that this year should be the great Judgement: What is recorded of the years 100. and 120. that Church-yards were not ample enough to contain the dead bodies, but that new ground was digged up, is true in this; and what of the year 1348. that the third of mankind was sweeped from the Earth: we may say that though this Countrey hath not lost the third, yet that the Almighty providence hath taken away the tenth part of the People. This is (perhaps) a part of that Judgement which the late blazing lights of Heaven did signifie unto us, the defects of the Sun, besides the malignant influences of other *Celestial* Bodies. This one year is enought to make men hereafter if not altogether believe, yet fear *Astrological* Predictions, which

which though they fail in particulars, yet strangely hold true in some generals. Heavens I hope shall preserve you *ad molliora et meliora tempora*; to be a witness and Recorder of their Just Proceedings on this Globe of the Earth, for the Good of your self, your Friends, and all that love you.

1623.

W. Drummond.

The Oath of a KNIGHT.

I Shall fortifie and defend the true holy Catholique and Christian Religion presently possessed at all my Power.

I shall be loyal and true to my Soveraign Lord the King his Majestie, and do honour and reverence to all Orders of Chivalrie and to the noble office of Arms.

I shall fortifie and defend Justice to the uttermost of my power, but feed or favour.

I shall never flie from the Kings Majesty my Lord and Master, or his Lieutenant in time of battel or medly with dishonour.

I shall defend my native Countrey from all aliens and strangers at all my power.

I shall maintain and defend the honest Adoes and Quarrels of all Ladies of Honour, Widows, Orphans, and Maids of good Fame.

I shall do diligence, wherever I hear tell there is any Traytours, Murtherers, Rovers, and Masterfull Theeves and Outlaws, that suppress the Poor, to bring them to the Law at all my Power.

I shall maintain and defend the Noble and gallant State of Chevalrie with Horses, Harnesses, and other Knightly Apparel to my Power.

I shall be diligent to enquire and seek to have the knowledge of all Articles and points touching or concerning my duty contained in the Book of Chevalrie.

All and sundry the Premisses I oblige me to keep and fulfil, so help me God by my one hand, and by God himself.

To his loving Cousin——

IF wishes could have place or prevail, I wish ye could be moved to separate your self from the frequent conversation and company of that envious Gentleman, otherwise keep your self so close and secret in your demeanour, that of your chief and most Soveraign actions he be altogether ignorant. All other evils may be remedied, envy excepted; which, though they have the worst that are affected with it, yet as a plague it doth hurt to all who approach it. Give me an ambitious man, though he were of a more transcendent conceit than Pride her self, If I render him imagined honour, praise him, use him with all due respects, I shall in a little time turn him my friend. Place me with a *Damouret*, if I cope not with him, if I praise him in the presence of his Mistress, he will be ready to perform like duties to me. If I shall converse with an avaritious, a little gain will win him to me: onely the envious with nothing is satisfied nor appeased, no drug can cure that plague, if thou wouldest amend it, it must be with thine own life. There remaineth no way to make him thine, save by turning miserable, that thus he may pitty thee. The envious doth not mark and observe any good in another, but sifteth onely imperfections, and setting a part conditions and qualities, which are praise-worthy in person, turneth his eyes to those few blemishes which may be reprehended and amended. Each other Vice seemeth humane: Envy the Vice and Sin of Divels. A strange gangren of a perverse mind, that others happiness should turn it miserable.

What I have else to advertise you of, expect in my next.

W. Drummond.

December 6.
1623.

To S. M. D.

IT is much argued amongst those men, who will have a reason of every thing, why good men ordinarily are deserted of Fortune, and many evils arise to preferments. The first answer is, that lewd, bold men have strong fantasies, and attempt upon many divers matters, which good men by their bashfulnesse and towardnesse never essay to reach. The next answer is, That lewd men suffer themselves

ſelves to be guided by nature, or the ſtarry influences, or rather (being Fools) give themſelves over (like Beaſts) to be carried by their appetites, and the virtuous are led by reaſon which often contrachecketh it ſelf, and by long meditation and adviſe what to do, leaveth off all doing: and ſuffereth others in the interim to carry the Garland; ye have ſpent now many years at Court, and yet that Clock which hath ſtrock ten to others, is ſtill pointing at one or two to you. Have you not yet taken a diſtaſting and Saciety of that old Miſtreſs of yours the Court? her long delay in preferring you tells you are too honeſt. Me thinks ye ſhould have a deſire to recreate your ſelf at laſt in your native Countrie with the remembrances of paſſed Contentments at Court, as your Kinſemen here have a longing after ſo long a time to ſee you, and unanimouſly now ſalute you.

May 12.
1630.

W. Drummond.

To his loving Friend A, Cunningham *L. of* Barnes.

THis is no ſmall Miſerie of us Iſlanders that, as exiled, we can not take a view of Gods fair and ſpacious Earth without croſſing the ſtormy, braking and deceitful Seas; And it is no leſs a miſerie here in this part of our Iſland, that can hardly repair unto you *demi-Islanders* without dancing and toſſing on your arm of Sea; of all paſtimes and exerciſes I like ſailing worſt, and had rather attend the Hunters and Faulkoners many daies, ere I ſailed one half day: It it is a part of *Noahs* Judgement: If it ſhall be my good fortune to arrive in your Iſland, prepare no Games of ſtrength for our recreation, and after a ſaciety of diſcourſe and reading, let us not trouble our ſelves with any ſedentary paſtimes; the Dies are for the end of a Drum amongſt Souldiers, the Tables for Goutiſh and apoplectick perſons to make them move their joints; the Cards for women to obſerve their diſcretion. But if we ſhall have a deſire of change of thoughts, let us not refuſe the Cheſſe, the onely Princely Game (next Government) in the World, yea the true Image and Pourtraict of it, and training of Kings. Here is a King defended, by a *L*ady, two Biſhops, two Knights, at the end of the Liſts, with two Rocks, Fortreſſes,

ſes or Caſtles. Before thoſe to prepare and make plain the paſſages, march eight Pawns, *Enfantes perdues* expoſed to all deſperate Services, every one ſtanding for their *Monarch*. The Deviſer of this would repreſent unto us a game of State. Firſt for the Biſhops; that neareſt to Kings ſhould be Eccleſiaſtical grave Men, who by oblique, traverſe and myſtical wayes (ſuch is their paſſage) ſhould effectuate their Maſters deſigns and ſafety. Though the Knights be not alwaies neareſt to the Kings, it falleth forth that even as the Knights at Game of Cheſſe by their leap, giving an Eſcheke to their Kings, the Kings are conſtrained to change places, from which by covering and overſhadowing themſelves with ſome other piece, in any other eſchekes they may eſcape free and exempted. So there is no danger in the State a King ſhould ſo much fear as the revolt of his Nobles. For the Towers or Caſtles named Rooks, theſe are the walled Towns, which ſerve for a Refuge for the conſervation of the Kingdom. Here is a King reſembled who marcheth but one pace, whilſt all the other Pieces of the Cheſſe boord put themſelves now on the offenſive, then on the defenſive, for his ſafety. To teach Kings that it is not for them upon whoſe life the peace and happineſs of the whole ſubjects rely, to expoſe themſelves every ſhock and hazard of battel, as a Captain. Sith for the ſafety of the King, he may make an extraordinary leap from his own ſtation to the ſtation of the Rook or Tower, as to a Forteſſe holdable and impregnable againſt the greateſt aſſaults of his Enemies. The privilege of the Lady is conſiderable, ſhe may ſometimes progreſſe on the waies of the Biſhops, then on thoſe of the Rooks or Towers, only ſhe is hindred and inhibited from the leap ſkip bound of the Knights, as a thing undecent: Though *Plato* in his Republick permitteth women to fight. The Game is concluded with the Mate of the King, that is a fool or madman in the *Italian*. If the other pieces keep not themſelves, they may, as dead, be taken and removed off the Cheſſe-boord, but the King by loſs of men loſeth not the victory, he may by a hazard carry it with the meaneſt of his pieces, as his Army is wiſely and warily conducted. The King receiveth not that diſgrace in imagination as that they dream of his taking, but is enough that they bring upon him ſuch confuſion and diſarray, that blocked up and denuded of all ſupport he cannot march to any Hold or Station. Which brought to paſs, we tell he is mated, that is, either madman or fool. To ſignifie what diſaſter ſo ever befall a King we ſhould not attempt on his perſon. Moreover, even in the midſt and throng of all his beſt pieces the mating of the King is the concluſion of the Game; which

ſhows

shews us that on the preservation or overthrow of our King the overthrow or preservation of our State dependeth. The recompence of the Pawns is not be forgotten. When they can win and ascend the furthest part of the Chesse-bord on the Sunney side, as the first which mount a breach, in this case they are surrogated in those void Rooms of the pieces of honour, which because they suffered themselves to be taken, were removed off the Boord, which in effect is to represent the punishment and guerdon due in a Common-wealth to good or evil actions. The Game ended, Kings, Queens, Bishops, Knights, Pawns, pesslemelled are confusedly thrown in the box, the conclusion of all earthly actions and greatness. If *Hieronymus Vida* can be found with *Baptista Marini* his *Adone*, we shall not spare some houres of the night and day at their Chesse, for I affect that above the other; and here have we plaied without a Chess boord on paper for a preamble to our meeting.

W. Drummond.

To his worthy Friend Master Benjamin Johnson.

SIR,

THe uncertainty of your abode was a cause of my silence this time past, I have adventured this packet upon hopes that a man so famous cannot be in any place either of the City or Court where he shall not be found out. In my last I sent you a description of *Lough Lomond* with a map of *Inch-merinoch*, which may by your Book be made most famous with the form of the Government of *Edenburgh*, and the Method of the Colleges of *Scotland*; for all inscriptions I have been curious to find out for you, the *Impressaes* and Emblemes on a Bed of State wrought and embroidered all with gold and silk by the late Queen *Mary* mother to our sacred Soveraign, which will embbellish greatly some pages of your Book, and is worthy your remembrance; the first is the Loadstone turning towards the pole, the word her Majesties name turned in an Anagram, *Maria Stuart, sa vertu m' attire*, which is not much inferiour to *Veritas armata*. This hath reference to a Crucifix, before which with all her Royall Ornaments she is humbled on her knees most lively, with the word *undique*; an *Impressa* of *Mary* of *Lorrain* her Mother, a *Phœnix* in flames, the word *en ma fin git mon commencement*

mencement. The *Impreſſa* of an Apple Tree growing in a Thorn, the word *Per vincula creſcit.* The *Impreſſa* of *Henry* the ſecond the *French King*, a *Creſſant*, the word, *Donec totum impleat orbem.* The *Impreſſa* of King *Francis* the firſt, a *Salamander* crowned in the midſt of Flames, the word, *Nutriſco et extingo.* The *Impreſſa* of *Godfrey* of *Bullogne*, an row paſſing throw three Birds, the word, *Dederit ne viam Caſuſve Deuſve.* That of *Mercurius* charming *Argos* with his hundred eyes, expreſſed by his *Caducēus*, two *Flutes*, and a *Peacock*, the word, *Eloquium tot lumina clauſit.* Two Women upon the Wheels of Fortune, the one holding a Lance, the other a *Cornucopia*; which *Impreſſa* ſeemeth to glaunce at Queen *Elizabeth* and her ſelf, the word *Fortuna Comites.* The *Impreſſa* of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* her Uncle, a *Pyramide* overgrown with *Ivy*, the vulgar word, *Te ſtante virebo*; a Ship with her Maſt broken and fallen in the Sea, the word, *Nunquam niſi rectum.* This is for her ſelf and her Son, a Big *Lyon* and a young Whelp beſide her, the word, *unum quidem, ſed Leonem.* An embleme of a *Lyon* taken in a Net, and Hares wantonly paſſing over him, the word, *Et lepores devicto inſultant Leone. Cammomel* in a garden, the word, *Fructus calcata dat amplos.* A Palm Tree, the word, *Ponderibus virtus innata reſiſtit.* A Bird in a *Cage*, and a *Hawk* flying above, with the word *il mal me preme et me ſpaventa Peggio.* A Triangle with a Sun in the middle of a Circle, the word, *Trino non convenit orbis.* A Porcupine amongſt Sea Rocks, the word, *ne volutetur.* The *Impreſſa* of King *Henry* the eight a *Portculles*, the word *altera ſecuritas.* The *Impreſſa* of the Duke of *Savoy*, the annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, the word *Fortitudo ejus* Rhodum *tenuit.* He had kept the Iſle of *Rhodes*, Flouriſhes of Arms, as Helms, Launces, Corſlets, Pikes, Muſkets, Canons and [illegible] the word, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.* A Tree planted in a Church-yard environed with dead mens bones, the word, *Pietas revocabit ab orco.* Eclipſes of the Sun and the Moon, the word, *Ipſa ſibi lumen quod invidet aufert*; glauncing, as may appear at Queen *Elizabeth. Brennos* Ballances a ſword caſt in to weigh Gold, the word, *Quid niſi Victis dolor?* A Vine tree watred with Wine, which inſtead to make it ſpring and grow, maketh it fade, the word, *Mea ſic mihi proſunt.* A wheel rolled from a Mountain in the Sea, *Piena di dolor voda de Sperenza.* Which appeareth to be her own, and it ſhould be *Precipitio ſenza ſperanza.* A heap of Wings and Feathers diſperſed, the word, *Magnatum Vicinitas.* A Trophie upon a Tree, with Mytres, Crowns, Hats, Maſks, Swords, Books, and a Woman with a Vail about her eyes or muffled, pointing to ſome about her, with this word, *Ut caſus dederit.*

Three

Three Crowns, two opposite, and another above in the Sea, the word, *Aliamque moratur.* The Sun in an Eccliplse, the word, *Medio occidet Die.*

I omit the Arms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *France* severally by themselves, and all quartered in many places of this Bed. The workmanship is curiously done, and above all value, and truely it may be of this Piece said *Materiam superabat opus.*

I have sent you (as you desired) the Oath which the old valiant Knights of *Scotland* gave, when they received the Order of Knighthood, which was done with greater solemnity and magnificence.

W. Drummond.

July 1. 1619.

To his Worthy Friend M. A. G.

I Never found any greater folly in the actions of Men than to see some busie themselves to understand the accidents to come of their lives; This knowledge of things to come not revealed to us, is no ways needful for us. Wheresoever this superstition is once received, Men are driven, and, as it were haunted with Furies, and are deprived of all calmness, quietness and rest. I never knew any who had recourse to those unlawful curiosities who liv'd the ordinary age of man. God omnipotent removing his Grace from them giveth them over to fall under the Fate of their own fears. By the credulity and violent desire of him who inquireth to know these things, *Astrological* Predictions come to pass, not by the nature of the things themselves, which are fortuital events, and have no natural causes, being voluntary. The mistakings and uncertainties of these Predictions, should make us contemn them, *Astrologi fingunt non docent.* The truth of *Astrological Predictions* is not to be refer'd to the constellations of heaven, the *Genethliaticks* have other observations than the Stars; they conjecture by the disposition, temper, complection of the person, by the physiognomy, age, parents, education, acquaintance, familiarity, conversation, out of all which they collect many apparences, possibilities, likelyhoods: and their prophecies are refer'd *ad Sortem, ad Pacta, ad Prudentiam consultorum, & stultitiam Consulentium*; the sagacity of the *Astrologer*, the blokishnes of the Consulter. Of Contingencies, no certain knowledge can be obtained by Art.

But all those events which *Astrologers* aver to come are fortuital and casual contingents, then they cannot be learned or known by any precepts of Art. How can a *Caldean* by that short minute, instant, moment of time in which a man is born, set down the diverse changes, mutations, accidents of his life? if we were to consider of those things, it would appear we should not be solicitous so much, and take notice how the air is affected at the infants coming in this world, as we should observe and respect the matter and disposition of the whole body, in which a greater virtue is infused, or of the time of the conception. Then how unlikely is it, and without any semblance of truth, that the many almost numberles conjunction of Stars, which occur and present themselvs in the progress of a Mans life, should match and countervail that one *Horoscope* or *Conjunction* which is found at his birth? Moreover to find out and know the actions of the free will of a man of what importance should we hold nourishment, education, age, the place, his conversation, every one of which after their own manner contributing to the constitution and complexion of the person, how great effects must all these together produce? If that moment of the time of birth be of such moment, whence proceederh the great differences of the constitutions of Twins, which though together born, have strange, divers and contrary Fortunes in the progress of their lives? all that knowledge (if there be any such?) of things contingent to which we attain by the aspects of Stars, is uncertain frivolous and changeable. This the Devils themselves confessed, when upon consultations of things to come for the most part they gave doubtful and ambiguous answers. The Stars are not malignant, mischeivous, spitefull, nor by their aspects malicious, if they were such, that should be either by election or nature. They are not by Election, for then they should have senses and souls, and as Animals be troubled with perturbations, and tossed like unto us, which followerh election. They are not malitious by nature, sith God created them, and God is not a Creator of what is evil: nor is the framer of whats not good; the Heavens are all good and in every degree and figure the divine bounty shineth. Why do not *Astrologers* at their pleasure procreate Kings, for they have no great labour but to choose out *opportunam horam*, and ask counsel of the fatal Stars? Had *Giges*, who of a servant became a King, a kingly aspect, or *Servius Tullus* or that *Tartar Tamerlane* royal Images and figures? Vain should all Laws be, all sentences and doom of Judges, vain the Rewards of virtue and good men; vain the punishments of vices and evils, if the great beginnings and Originals of them were compelled, driven and forced, and if what is just

or

or wrong were not in a man himſelf. The Thief ſhould not be a Thief, the Murtherer a Murtherer, wicked and unjuſt they ſhould not be, the one being neceſſitated to ſteel, the other to ſhed bloud by the Stars. Truſt in the firſt cauſe God Almighty, and ſcorn vain Predictions. That infinit eternal eſſence, though the Stars ſhould incline, yea neceſſitate, and be averſe, can countermand and turn them propitious: All things turn unto the beſt unto ſuch as rely on his Eternal goodneſs:

W. Drummond.

A CYPRESSE GROVE.

THough it hath bin doubted if there be in the ſoul ſuch imperious and ſuper-excellent power, as that it can by the vehement and earneſt working of it, deliver knowledge to another without bodily Organs and by the onely conceptions and Ideas of it produce real Effects; yet it hath bin ever and of all held as infallible and moſt certain, that it often (either by outward inſpiration, or ſome ſecret motion in it ſelf) is augure of its own misfortunes, and hath ſhadows of approaching dangers preſented unto it before they fall forth. Hence ſo many ſtrange apparitions and ſigns, true viſions, uncouth heavineſs, and cauſeleſs uncomfortable languiſhings, of which to ſeek a reaſon, unleſs from the ſparkling of God in the Soul, or from the God-like ſparkles of the Soul, were to make unreaſonable by reaſoning of things tranſcending her reach.

Having

Having often and diverse times, when I had given my self to rest in the quiet solitariness of the Night, found my imagination troubled with a confused fear, no, sorrow or horror, which interrupting sleep did astonish my senses, and rowse me all appalled, and transported in a suddain agony and amazedness; of such an unaccustomed perturbation, not knowing, nor being able to dive into any apparent cause, carried away with the stream of my then doubting thoughts, I began to ascribe it to that secret fore-knowledge and presaging power of the prophetick mind, and to interpret such an Agony to be to the Spirit as a faintness and universal weariness useth to be to the body, a sign of following sickness, or as winter Lightnings or Earth-quakes are to Common-wealths and great Cities, Harbingers of more wretched events.

Hereupon not thinking it strange if whatsoever is human should befall me, knowing how providence overcoms grief, and discountenances Crosses; and that as we should not despair of evils which may happen to us, we should not be too confident, nor lean much to those Goods we enjoy; I began to turn over in my remembrance all that could afflict miserable Mortality, and to fore-cast every thing that with a Mask of horror could shew it self to humane eyes: till in the end, as by unities and points, Mathematicians are brought to great numbers, and huge greatness; after many fantastical glances of the woes of mankind, and those incumbrances which follow upon life, I was brought to think, and with amazement, on the last of humane terrors, or (as one termed it) the last of all dreadful and terrible Evils, Death.

For to easie censure it would appear, that the Soul, if it fore-see that divorcement which it is to have from the body, should not without great reason be thus over-grieved, and plunged in inconsolable and unaccustom'd sorrow: considering their near union, long familiarity and love, with the great change, pain, uglineſs, which are apprehended to be the inseparable attendents of Death,

They had their being together, parts they are of one reasonable Creature, the harming of the one, is the weakning of the working of the other; what sweet contentments doth the soul enjoy by the senses? They are the Gates and Windows of its knowledge, the Organs of its Delight. If it be tedious to an excellent player on the Lute, to abide but a few Moneths the want of one, how much more the being without such noble Tools and Engines be plaintful to the Soul? And if two Pilgrims which have wandred some few miles together, have a hearts-grief when they are neer to part, what must the sorrow be at the parting of two so loving

Friends

Friends and never-loathing Lovers, as are the Body and Soul?

Death is the violent estranger of acquaintance, the eternal Divorcer of Mariage, the Ravisher of the children from the Parents, the Stealer of Parents from their children, the interrer of Fame, the sole cause of forgetfulnesse, by which the living talk of those gone away as of so many Shadowes or age-worn Stories: all strength by it is enfeebled, Beauty turned into deformity and rottennes, honour in contempt, Glory into baseneſſe. It is the reasonles breaker off of all Actions, by which we enjoy no more the sweet pleasures of Earth, nor gaze upon the stately revolutions of the Heavens, Sunne perpetually setteth, Stars never rise unto us, It in one moment robbeth us of what with so great toyl and care in many years we have heaped together: By this are Successions of Linages cut short, kingdomes left heirles, and greatest States orphaned: it is not overcome by Pride, smothered by Flattery, diverted by time, Wisedome save this can prevent and help every thing. By death we are exiled from this fair City of the World, it is no more a World unto us, nor we no more a people unto it. The ruines of Phanes, Palaces, and other magnificent Frames, yield a sad prospect to the soul, and how should it without horrour view the wrack of such a wounderful Master-piece as is the body?

That death naturally is terrible and to be abhorred, it can not well and altogether be denyed, it being a privation of life, and a not-being, and every privation being abhorred of nature, and evil in it self, the fear of it too being ingenerate universally in all Creatures; yet I have often thought that even naturally to a mind by onely nature resolved and prepared, it is more terrible in conceit than in verity, and at the first Glance, than when well pryed into, and that rather by the weakness of our fantasie, than by what is in it, and that the marble colours, of Obsequies, Weeping, and funeral pomp (which we our selves cast over) did add much more ghastlinesse unto it than otherwaies it hath. To aver which conclusion, when I had gatherd my wandring thoughts I began thus with my self.

If on the great Theatre of this Earth amongst the numberles number of men, *To dy* were onely proper to thee and thine, then undoubtedly thou hadst reason to repine at so severe and partial a Law? but since it is a necessity, from the which never an age by-past hath been exempted, and unto which they which be, and so many as are to come, are thralled (no consequent of life being more common and familiar) why shouldst thou with unprofitable and nought availing stub-

stubbornness, oppose to so unevitable and necessary a Condition? this is the high-way of Mortality, our general home, behold what millions have trode it before thee, what multitudes shall after thee, with them which at that same instant run. In so universal a calamity (if Death be one) private complaints cannot be heard, with so many Royal Palaces, it is no loss to see thy poor Caban burn. Shall the heavens stay their ever-roling wheels (for what is the motion of them but the motion of a swift and ever whirling wheel, which twineth forth, and again uprolleth our life?) and hold still time, to prolong thy miserable daies, as if the highest of their working were to do homage unto thee? thy death is a peice of the Order of this *All*, a part of the Life of this world, for while the World is the World, some Creatures must dy, and others take life. Eternal things are raised far above this Sphere of Generation and Corruption, where the first Matter, like an ever-flowing and ebbing Sea, with divers waves, but the same water, keepeth a restless and never tyring current; what is below, in the universality of the kind, not in it self doth abide, *Man* a long line of years hath continued, *This Man* every hundred is swept away. This Globe environed with air, is the sole Region of death, the Grave where every thing that taketh life must rott, the Stage of Fortune and Change, onely glorious in the unconstancy and varying alterations of it, which though many seem yet to abide one, and being a certain entire one, are ever many. The never agreeing bodies of the Elemental Brethren turn one in another, the Earth changeth her countenance with the seasons, sometimes looking cold, and naked, other times hot and flowry: Nay, I cannot tell how, but even the lowest of those Celestial bodies, that mother of moneths, and Empress of Seas and moisture, as if she were a Mirrour of our constant mutability appeareth (by her too great neerness unto us) to participate of our changes, never seeing us twice with that same face, now looking black, then pale and wan, sometimes again in the perfection and fulnesse of her beauty shining over us. Death no lesse than life doth here act a part, the taking away of what is old, being the making away for what is young. They which forewent us did leave a Room for us, and should we grieve to do the same to those which should come after us? who being suffered to see the exquisite rarities of an Antiquaries Cabinet is grieved that the curtain be drawn and to give place to new pilgrims? and when the Lord of this Universe hath shewed us the amazing wonders of his various frame, should we take it to heart, when he thinketh time, to dislodge? this is his unalterable and unevitable Decree, as

we

we had no part of our will in our entrance into this life, we should not presume of any in our leaving it, but soberly learn to will that which he wills, whose very will giveth being to all that it wills, and reverencing the Orderer, not repine at the Order and Laws, which al-where and allwaies are so perfectly established, that who would essay to correct and amend any of them, should either make them worse, or desire things beyond the level of possibility.

If thou doest complain that there shall be a time in the which thou shalt not be, why dost thou not too grieve that there was a time in the which thou waste not? and so that thou art not as old as that enlifening Planet of time? for not to have been a thousand years before this moment, is as much to be deplored as not to live a thousand after it, the effect of them both being one: that will be after us which long long before we were, was. Ous Childrens children have that same reason to murmur that they were not young men in our daies, which we have to complain that we shall not be old in theirs. The Violets have their time, though they impurple not the Winter, and the Roses keep their season though they disclose not their beauty in the Spring.

Empires, States, Kingdomes, have by the doom of the Supreme Providence their fatal Periods, great Cities ly sadly buried in their dust, Arts and Sciences have not only their Ecclipses, but their wainings and deaths, the ghastly wonders of the world, raised by the ambition of ages are overthrown and trampled, some Lights above, not idly intitled Stars, are looosed and never more seen of us: The excellent Fabrick of this Universe it self shall one day suffer ruin, or a change like a ruin, and poor Earthlings thus to be handled complain.

But is this Life so great a good, that the loss of it should be so dear unto Man? if it be? the meanest Creatures of Nature thus be happy, for they live no lesse than he: If it be so great a felicity, how is it esteemed of Man himself at so small a rate, that for so poor gains, nay, one disgraceful word, he will not stand to looose it? what excellency is there in it, for the which he should desire it perpetual, and repine to be at rest, and return to his old Grand-mother Dust? of what moment are the labours and actions of it, that the interruption and leaving off of them should be to him distastful, and with such grudging lamentations receive?

Is not the entering into Life weakneſſe? the continuing sorrow? in the one here is exposed to all the injuries of the Elements, and like a condemned trespasser (as if it were a

fault to come to the light) no sooner born than mancled and bound; in the other he is restlesly like a Ball tossed in the Tenis Court of this World, when he is in the brightest Meridian of his glory, there mistereth nothing to destroy him, but to let him fall his own height, a reflex of the Sun, a blast of wind, nay, the glance of an eye, is sufficient to undo him: How can that be any great matter, which so small instruments and slender actions are Masters of?

His body is but a mass of discording humors boiled together by the conspiring influences of Superior lights, which though agreeing for a trace of time, yet can never be made uniform, and kept in a just proportion. To what sickness is it subject unto, beyond those of the other creatures; no part of it being which is not particularly infected and afflicted by some one, nay, every part with many; so that the life of divers of the meanest creatures of nature hath with great reason, by the most wise, been preferred to the natural life of man: And we should rather wonder how so fragil a matter should so long endure, than how so soon decay.

Are the actions of the most part of men, much differing from the exercise of the Spider; that pitcheth toyls and is tapist, to pray on the smaller Creatures, and for the weaving of a scornful web eviscreateth it self many daies, which when with much industry finished, a tempestuous puffe of wind carrieth away both the work and the worker? or are they not like the plaies of Children? or (to hold them at their highest rate) as is a May-Game, or what is more earnest, some study at Chesse, every day we rise and lie down, apparel and disapparrel our selves, weary our bodies and refresh them, which is a circle of idle Travels, and labours (like *Penelopes* task) unprofitably renewed. Some time we are in a chase after a fading Beauty, now we seek to enlarge our bounds, increase our treasure, feeding poorly, to purchase what we must leave to those we never saw, or (happily) to a Fool, or a Prodigal heire: raised with the wind of Ambition, we Court that idle name of Honour, not considering how they mounted aloft in the highest ascendant of Earthly Glory, are but like tortured Ghosts wandring with golden fetters in glistering Prisons, having fear and danger their unseperable executioners, in the midst of multitudes rather garded than regarded; they whom opake imaginations and inward melancholy, have made weary of the world, though they have withdrawn themselves from the course of vulgar affairs, by vain contemplations, curious searches, are more disquieted, and live a life worse than others, their wit being too sharp to give them a taste of their present infelicity,

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and to increase their woes; while they of a more shallow and simple conceit, have want of knowledge and ignorance of themselves, for a remedy and antidote against all the calamities of life.

What *Camelion*, what *Euripe*, what *Moon* doth change so often as man? he seemeth not the same person, in one and the same day, what pleaseth him in the morning is in the evening unto him distastful. Young he scorns his childish conceits, and wading deeper in years (for years are a Sea, into which he wadeth until he drown) he esteemeth his Youth Unconstancy, Rashnesse, Folly; Old he begins to pitty himselfe, plaining, because he is changed that the world is changed, like those in a Ship, which when they launch from the shore, are brought to think the shore doth flye from them. When he is freed of evil in his own estate, he grudges and vexes himself at the happiness and fortunes of others, he is pressed with care for what is present, with sorrow for what is past, with fear for what is to come, nay, for what will never come, as in the eye one tear forceth out another, so makes he one sorrow follow upon a former, and every day lay up stuff of grief for the next.

The Air, the Sea, the Fire, the Beasts, be cruel executioners of man, yet Beasts, Fire, Sea and Aire, are pittyful to man in comparison of man, for more men are destroyed by men, than by them all. What scornes, wrongs, contumelys, imprisonments, torments, poysons, receiveth man of man? What engynes and new workes of death are dayly found forth by man against man? What Laws, to thrall his liberty? fantasies and scarbugs, to inveigle his reason? Amongst the Beastes is there any that hath so servile a lot in anothers behalf as Man? yet neither is content, nor he who raigneth nor he who serveth.

The halt of our life is spent in Sleepe, which hath such a resemblance to death, that often it seperats as it were the Soule from the body, and teacheth it a sort of being above it, making it soare beyond the Speare of sensuall delights, and attaine Knowledge unto which while the body did awake it could scarce aspire. And who would not, rather than abide chained in his loathsom galey of the world sleep ever, (that is dye) having all thinges at one Stay be free from those vexations, misadventers, contempts, indignitys, and many many anguishes, unto which, this life is invasseled and subdued? and when looking unto our greatest contentment and happiness heere, seemeth rather to consist in the being released from misery, than in the enjoying of any great good.

What have the most eminent of mortals to glory in? Is it Greatness? Who can be great on so small a round as is this Earth, and bounded with so short a course of time? How like is that to Castles or imaginary Cities raised in the Sky by Chance-meeting Clouds? Or to Gyants modelled (for a sport) of Snow, which at the hoter looks of the Sun melt away, and ly drowned in their own moisture? such an impetuous vicissitude towseth the estates of this World. Is it knowledge? But we have not yet attained to a perfect understanding of the smallest Flower, and why the Grasse should rather be green than read. The Element of Fire is quite put out, the Air is but water rarified, the Earth moveth, and is no more the Center of the Universe, is turned into a Magnes; Stars are not fixed, but swim in the Etherial spaces, Comets are mounted above the Planets, some affirm there is another world of men and creatures, with Cities and Towers in the Moon, the Sun is lost, for it is but a cleft in the lower heavens, through which the light, of the highest shines. Thus Sciences by the diverse motions of this Globe of the brain of man are become opinions. What is all we know, compared with what we know not? We have not yet agreed about the chief good and felicitye. It is (perhaps) Artificial Cunning, how many curiosities be framed by the least Creatures of Nature, unto which the industry of the most curious Artizanes doth not attain? Is it Riches? what are they but the casting out of Friends, the Snares of liberty, bands to such as have them, possessing rather, than possest, metals which nature hath hid (fore-seeing the great harm they should occasion) and the onely opinion of man hath brought in estimation? like Thornes which laid on an open hand, may be blown away, and on a closing and hard gripping, wound it, Prodigals mispend them, wretches miskeep them: when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves can enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man: what great and rich men do by others, the meaner sort do themselves. Will some talk of our pleasures? it is not (though in the fables) told out of purpose, that pleasure in hast being called up to Heaven, did here forget her apparel, which Sorrow thereafter finding (to deceive the world) attired her self with: And if we would say the truth of most of our Joies, we must confess that they are but disguised sorrows; the drams of their Honey are sowred in pounds of Gall, remorse ever enseweth them, nay in some they have no effect at all if some wakening grief hath not preceded and forewent them. Will some Ladies vaunt of their beauty? that is but skin-deep, of two sen-

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ies onely known, short even of Marble Statues and Pictures, not the same to all eyes, dangerous to the Beholder, and hurtful to the Possessor, an enemy to Chastitie, a thing made to delight others, more than those which have it, a superficial lustre hiding bones and the brains, things fearful to be looked upon, growth in years doth blaste it, or sickness, or sorrow preventing them. Our strength matched with that of the unreasonable Creatures, is but weakness: all we can set our eyes on, in these intricate mazes of life, is but vain perspective and deceiving shadows, appearing far otherwise afar off, than when injoied and gazed upon in a neer distance.

If death be good, why should it be feared? And if it be the work of nature, how should it not be good? for nature is an Ordinance and Rule, which God hath established in the creating this Vniverse (as is the Law of a King) which cannot err. Sith in him there is no impotency and weakness, by the which he might bring forth what is unperfect, no perverseness of will, of which might proceed any vicious action, no ignorance by the which he might go wrong in working, being most powerful, most good, most wise, nay, all-wise, all-good, all-powerful; He is the first Orderer, and marshalleth every other Order, the highest Essence, giving essence to all other things, of all causes the cause, he worketh powerfully, bounteously, wisely, and maketh (his Artificial Organ) nature do the same. How is not Death of Nature? sith what is naturally generate, is subject to corruption, and such an harmony (which is life) rising from the mixture of the four Elements, which are the Ingredients of our bodie, can not ever endure; the contrariety of their qualities (as a consuming Rust in the baser Mettals) being an inward cause of a necessary dissolution. Again, how is not Death good? sith it is the thaw of all those vanities which the frost of Life bindeth together. If there be a saciety in life, then must there be a sweetnesse in Death? The *Earth* were not ample enough to contain her off-spring if none dyed: in two or three Ages (without death) what an unpleasant and lamentable Spectacle, were the most flourishing Cities? for what should there be to be seen in them, save bodies languishing and courbing again into the *Earth*? pale disfigured faces, Skelitons instead of men? and what to be heard, but the exclamations of the young, complaints of the old, with the pittiful cries of sick and pining persons? there is almost no infirmity worse than age.

If there be any evil in death; it would appear to be that pain and torment, which we apprehend to arise from the

the breaking of those strait bands which keep the Soul and body together; which, sith not without great struggling and motion, seemes to prove it self vehement and most extreme. The senses are the only cause of pain, but before the last Trances of Death, they are so brought under that they have no (or very little) strength, and their strength lessening, the strength of pain too must be lessened. How should we doubt, but the weakness of sense lesseneth pain, sith we know that weakened and maimed parts which receive not nourishment, are a great deal less sensible, than the other parts of the body; And see that old decrepit persons leave this world almost without pain, as in a sleep? If bodies of the most sound and wholesome constitution be these which most vehemently feel pain? it must then follow, that they of a distemperate and craisie constitution, have least feeling of pain, and by this reason all weak and sick bodies should not much feel pain, for if they were not distempered and evil complexioned, they would not be sick. That the sight, Hearing, Taste, Smelling leave us without pain, and unawares, we are undoubtedly assured, and why should we not think the same of the Feeling? That which is capable of feeling, are the vital Spirits, which in a man in a perfit health are spread and extended through the whole body, and hence is it that the whole Body is capable of pain; but in dying bodies we see that by pauses and degrees the parts which are furthest removed from the heart, become cold, and being deprived of natural heat, all the pain which they feel, is that they do feel no pain. Now, even as before the sick are aware, the vital spirits have withdrawn themselves from the whole extension of the body, to succour the heart (like distressed Citizens which finding their walls battered down, fly to the defence of their Cittadel) so do they abandon the heart without any sensible touch: As the flame, the oyl failing, leaveth the wick, or as light the Air, which it doth invest. As to the shrinking motions, and convulsions of sinews and members, which appear to witness great pain, let one represent to himself the strings of an high tuned Lute, which breaking, retire to their natural windings, or a piece of Ice that without any outward violence cracketh at a Thaw: No otherwise do the sinews of the body; finding themselves slack and unbended from the brain, and their wonted labours and motions cease, struggle, and seem to stir themselves, but without either pain or sense. Swoning is a true Pourtrait of Death, or rather it is the same, being a cessation from all action, and function of sense and life: but in Swoning there is no pain, but a silent rest, and so deep

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and found a sleep, that the natural is nothing in comparison of it; what great pain then can there be in death, which is but a continued Swowning, and a never again returning to the works and dolorous felicity of life?

Now although Death were an extream pain, sith it is in an instant, what can it be? why should we fear it? for while we are, it commeth not, and it being come we are no more. Nay, though it were most painful, long continuing, and terrible, ugly why should we fear it? Sith fear is a foolish passion but where it may preserve; but it cannot preserve us from Death, yea rather the fear of it, banishing the comforts of present contentments, makes death to advance and approach the more near unto us. That is ever terrible which is unknown, so do little children fear to go in the dark, and their fear is increased with tales.

But that perhaps which anguisheth thee most, is to have this glorious pageant of the World, removed from thee, in the Spring and most delicious season of thy life, for though to dy be usual, to dy young may appear extraordinary. If the present fruition of these things be unprofitable and vain, what can a long continuance of them bee? Stranger and new Halcyon, why would thou longer nestle amidst these unconstant and stormy Waves? Hast thou not already suffered enough of this world, but thou must yet endure more? To live long, is it not to be long troubled? But number thy years which are now and thou shalt find, that whereas ten have overlived thee, thousands have not attained this age. One year is sufficient to behold all the magnificence of Nature, nay, even one day and night for more is but the same brought again. This Sun, that Moon, these Stars, the varying dance of the Spring, Summer, Autumn, winter, is that very same which the golden age did see. They which have the longest time lent them to live in, have almost no part of it at all, measuring it either by the space of time which is past, when they were not, or by that which is to come: why shouldst thou then care, whether thy daies be many or few, which when prolonged to the uttermost, prove, paralel'd with eternity, as a Tear is to the Ocean? To dy young, is to do that soon, and in some fewer daies, which once thou must do; it is the giving over of a Game that after never so many hazards, must be lost. When thou hast lived to that age thou desirest, or one of *Plato's* years, so soon as the last of thy daies riseth above thy Horizon, thou wilt then as now, demand longer respit, and expect more to come. It is Hope of long life, that maketh life seem short. Who will behold, and with the eye of advice behold the many changes attending on

on humane affairs, with the after-claps of Fortune, shall never lament to dy young. Who knows what alterations and sudden disasters, in outward estate or inward contentments, in this wilderness of the world, might have befallen him who dyeth young, if he had lived to be old? Heaven fore-knowing imminent harms, taketh those which it loves to it self before they fall forth. Pure and (if we may so say) Virgin Souls, carry their bodies with no smal agonys, and delight not to remain long in the dregs of humane corruption, stil burning with a desire to turn back to the place of their rest, for this world is their Inn, and not their Home. That which may fall forth every hour, cannot fal out of time. Life is a Journey in a dusty way, the furthest Rest is Death, in this some go more heavily burdened than others: swift and active Pilgrims come to the end of it in the morning or at Noon, which Tortoise-paced Wretches, clogged with the fragmentary rubbidge of this world, scarce with great travel crawl unto at Midnight. Daies are not to be esteemed after the number of them, but after the goodness: more compasse maketh not a Sphear more compleat, but as round is a little as a large Ring; nor is that Musitian most praise-worthy who hath longest played, but he in measured accents who hath made sweetest melody, to live long hath often been a let to live well. Muse not how many years thou mightest have enjoyed life, but how sooner thou mightst have lossed it, neither grudge so much that it is no better, as comfort thy self that it hath been no worse: let it suffice that thou hast lived till this day, and (after the course of this world) not for nought, thou hast had some smiles of fortune, favors of the worthiest, some friends and thou hast never been disfavoured of the Heaven.

Though not for Life it self, yet that to after-worlds thou mightst leave some monument that once thou wast, happilie in the clear light of Reason, it would appear that life were earnestly to be desired: for sith it is denyed us to live ever (said one) let us leave some worthy Remembrance of our once here being, and draw out this Spanne of life to the greatest length, and so far as is possible. O poor ambition? to what I pray thee maiest thou concreded it? Arches and stately Temples, which one age doth raise, doth not another raze, Tombs and adopted Pillars, ly buried with those which were in them buried: Hath not Avarice defaced, what Religion did make glorious? all that the hand of man can uprear, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed, as if there were a secret opposition in fate, the unevitable decree of the Eternal, to controul our industry, and con-

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ter-check all our devices and proposing. Possessions are not enduring, Children loose their names, Families glorying (like Marigolds in the Sunne) on the highest top of Wealth and Honour (no better than they which are not yet born) leaving off to be; so doth Heaven confound what we endeavour by labour and art to destinguish. That renown by Papers, which is thought to make men immortal, and which neareſt doth approach the life of these eternal bodies above, how slender it is, the very word of paper doth import, and what is it when obtained, but a multitude of words, which comming Times may scorn. How many millions never hear the names of the most famous Writers, and amongst them to whom they are known, how few turn over their pages, and of such as do, how many sport at their conceits, taking the verity for a fable, and oft a fable for verity, or (as we do pleasants) use all for recreation? Then the arising of more famous, doth darken, and turn ignoble the glory of the former, being held as garments worn out of fashion. Now, when thou hast attained what praise thou couldst desire, and thy fame is emblazon'd in many Stories, it is but an *Eccho*, a meer Sound, a Glow-worm, which seen afar, casteth some cold beams, but approached is found nothing, an imaginary happiness, whose good depends on the opinion of others: Desert and Virtue for the most part want Monuments and memory, seldome are recorded in the Volumes of admiration, while Statues and Trophies, are erected to those, whose names should have been buried in their dust, and folded up in the darkest clouds of oblivion: So do the rank Weeds in this Garden of the World choak and over-run the sweetest Flowers Applause whilst thou livest, serveth but to make thee that fair mark against which *Envy* and Malice direct their Arrows, at best is like that Syracusians Sphear of Chrystal, as frail as fair: and born after thy death, it may as well be ascribed, to some of those were in the Trojan Horse, or to such as are yet to be born an hundred years hereafter, as to thee, who nothing knowes, and is of all unknown. What can it avail thee to be talked of, whilst thou art not? Consider in what bounds our fame is confined, how narrow the lists are of humane Glory, and the furthest she can stretch her wings. This Globe of the *Earth* which seemeth huge to us, in respect of the Universe, and compared with that wide wide pavilion of Heaven, is less than little, of no sensible quantity, and but as a point: for the Horizon which boundeth our sight, divideth the heaven as in two halfs, having alwaies six of the *Zodiack* signs above, and as many under it, which if the Earth had any qantity compared to it,

it could not do. More, if the Earth were not as a point, the Stars could not ſtill in all parts of it appear to us of a like greatneſſe; for where the Earth raiſed it ſelf in Mountains, we being more near to Heaven, they would appear to us of a greater quantity; and where it is humbled in Vallies, we being further diſtant they would ſeem unto us leſſe; But the ſtarres in all parts of the Earth appearing of a like greatneſſe, and to every part of it the Heaven imparting to our ſight the half of its inſide, we muſt avouch it to be but as a point. Well did one compare it to an Ant-hill, and men (the Inhabitants) to ſo many Piſmires and Graſhoppers, in the toil and variety of their diverſifyed ſtudies. Now of this ſmall indiviſible thing, thus compared, how much is covered with Waters? how much not at all diſcovered? how much unhabited and deſart? and how many millions of millions are they, which ſhare the remnant amongſt them, in languages, cuſtomes, divine rites differing, and all almoſt to others unknown? But let it be granted that glory and Fame are ſome great matter, and can reach Heaven it ſelf, ſith they are oft buried with the honoured, and paſſe away in ſo fleet a revolution of time, what great good can they have in them? How is not glory Temporal, if it increaſe with years and depend on time? Then imagine me (for what cannot imagination reach unto?) one could be famous in all times to come, and over the whole World preſent, yet ſhall he ever be obſcure and ignoble to thoſe mighty Ones, which were onely heretofore eſteemed famous amongſt the Aſſyrians, Perſians, Romans. Again the vain affectation of man is ſo ſuppreſſed, that though his Works abide ſome ſpace, the Worker is unknown: the huge *Egyptian* Pyramides, and that Grot in *Pauſilipo*, though they have wreſtled with time, and worn upon the waſt of Daies, yet are their Authors no more known, than it is known by what ſtrange Earth-quakes, and deluges, Iſles were divided from the Continent; or Hills burſted forth of the Valleys. Dayes, Moneths, and Years are ſwallowed up in the great Gulf of time (which puts out the eyes of all their glory) and onely a fatal oblivion remains; of ſo many ages paſt, we may well figure to our ſelves likely apparences, but can affirm little certainty.

But (my ſoul) what ailes thee to be thus backward and aſtoniſhed at the remembrance of Death, ſith it doth not reach thee, more than darkneſſe doth thoſe far-ſhining Lamps above? Rowſe thy ſelf for ſhame; why ſhouldſt thou fear to be without a body, ſith thy maker and the ſpiritual and ſuper-celeſtial Inhabitants have no bodies?

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Hast thou ever seen any Prisoner, who when the Jail Gates were broken up, and he enfranchised and set loose, would rather plain and sit still on his Fetters, than seek his freedom? or any Mariner, who in the midst of Storms arriving near the Shore, would launch forth again unto the Main, rather than strike Sail and joyfully enter the leas of a safe Harbour? If thou rightly know thy self, thou hast but small cause of anguish; for if there be any resemblance, of that which is infinite, in what is finite (which yet by an infinite imperfection is from it distant) if thou be not an Image, thou art a shadow of that unsearchable Trinity, in thy three essential Powers, Understanding, Will, Memory; which though three, are in thee but one, and abiding one, are distinctly three: But in nothing more comest thou near that Soveraign Good, than by thy perpetuity, which who strive to improve, by that same do it prove: Like those that by arguing themselves to be without reason, by the very arguing, shew how they have some. For, how can what is wholly mortal, more know what is immortal, than the eye can know sounds, or the ear question about colours; if one had eyes, who would ever descant of light or Sorrow? To thee nothing in this visible World is comparable; thou art so wounderful a beauty and so beautiful a wonder, that if but once thou couldst be gazed upon by bodily eyes, every heart would be inflamed with thy love, and ravished from all servile baseness and earthly desires. Thy being depends not on matter, hence by thine understanding, doest thou dive into the being of every other thing; and therein art so pregnant, that nothing by place, similitude, subject, time, is so conjoined, which thou canst not separate; as what neither is, nor any waies can exist, thou canst fain, and give an abstract being unto. Thou seemest a World in thy self, containing Heaven, Starres, Seas, Earth, Floods, Mountains, Forrests, and all that liveth: yet rests thou not satiate with what is in thy self, nor with all in the wide Universe, untill thou raise thy self, to the contemplation of that first illuminating Intelligence, far above time, and even reaching Eternity it self, into which thou art transformed, for by receiving thou (beyond all other things) art made that which thou receivest. The more thou knowest, the more apt thou art to know, not being amated with any object that excelleth in predominance, as sense by objects sensible. Thy Will is uncompellable, resisting force, daunting Necessity, despising Danger, triumphing over affliction, unmoved by pitty, and not constrained by all the toyls and disasters of life. What the Arts-master of this

Univerſe is in governing this Univerſe, thou art in the body; and as he is wholly in every part of it, ſo art thou wholly in every part of the body. By thee man is that *Hymen* of eternal and mortal things, that chain together binding unbodied and bodily ſubſtances, without which the goodly Fabrick of this World were unperfect. Thou haſt not thy beginning from the fecundity, power, nor action of the elemental qualities, being an immediate maſter piece of that great Maker. Hence haſt thou the forms and figures of all things imprinted in thee from thy firſt Original. Thou onely at once art capable of contraries, of the three parts of time, thou makeſt but one. Thou knoweſt thy ſelf ſo ſeperate, abſolute and diverſe an eſſence from thy body, that thou diſpoſſeſſed of it as it pleaſeth thee, for in thee there is no paſſion ſo weak which maſtereth not the fear of leaving it. Thou ſhouldſt be ſo far from repining at this ſeparation, that it ſhould be the chief of thy deſires; ſith it is the paſſage and means to attain thy perfection and happineſs. Thou art here but as an infected and leprous Inn, plunged in a floud of humours, oppreſſed with cares, ſuppreſſed with ignorance, defiled and deſtained with vice, retrograde in the courſe of virtue; ſmall things ſeem here great unto thee, and great things ſmall, folly appeareth wiſdome, and wiſedome folly. Freed of thy fleſhly care, thou ſhalt rightly diſcern the beauty of thy ſelf, and have perfect fruition of that all-ſufficient and all-ſufficing Happineſſe, which is GOD himſelf; to whom thou oweſt thy being, to him thou oweſt thy wel being, he and happineſſe are the ſame. For, if GOD had not happineſſe, he were not GOD, becauſe Happineſſe is the higheſt and greateſt good: If then GOD have happineſſe, it cannot bee a thing differing from him; for if there were any thing in Him, differing from him, he ſhould be an eſſence compoſed and not ſimple, more what is differing in any thing, is either an accident or a part of it ſelf: In GOD Happineſs can not be an accident, becauſe he is not ſubject to any accidents, if it were a part of Him (ſince the part is before the whole) we ſhould be forced to grant, that ſome thing was before God. Bedded and bathed in theſe earthly, ordures thou canſt not come near this Soveraign Good, nor have any glimpſe of the afar-off dawning of his unceſſable brightneſſe, no, not ſo much as the eyes of the Birds of the Night have of the Sunne. Think then by death, that thy ſhell is broken, and thou then but even hatched, that thou art a Pearl, raiſed from thy Mother, to be enchaced in Gold, and that the death day of thy body, is thy birth-day to Eternity.

Why

Why shouldst thou be fear-stroken, and discomforted, for thy parting from this mortal Bride thy body, sith it is but for a time, and such a time, as shee shall not care for, nor feel any thing in, nor thou have much need of her? Nay, sith thou shalt receive her again, more goodly and beautiful, than when in her fullest perfection thou enjoied her; being by her absence made like unto that Indian Chrystal, which after some revolutions of ages, is turned into purest Diamond. If the Soul be thee Form of the Body, and the form separated from the Matter of it, cannot ever so continue, but is inclined and disposed to be reunited thereinto: What can let and hinder this desire, but that some time it be accomplished, and obtaining the exspected end, rejoin it self again unto the Body? The Soul separate hath a desire, because it hath a will, and knowes it shall by this re-union receive perfection: too as the matter is disposed, and inclineth to its form when it is without it, so would it seem that the Form should be towards its matter in the absence of it. How, is not the Soul the form of the body, sith by it, it is, and is the beginning and cause of all the actions and functions of it: For, though in excellency it passe every other form, yet doth not that excellency take from it the nature of a form? If the abiding of the Soul from the body be violent, then can it not be everlasting, but have a regress: How is not such an estate of being and abiding not violent to the Soul, if it be natural to it, to be in matter, and (separate) after a strange manner, many of the powers and faculties, of it (which never leave it) are not duly exercised? This Union seemeth not above the Horizon of natural Reason, far less impossible to be done by God, and though Reason cannot evidently here demonstrate, yet hath she a misty and groping notice. If the body shall not arise, how can the onely and Soveraign Good, be perfectly and infinitely good? For, how shall he be just, nay, have so much justice as Man, if he suffer the evil and vicious, to have a more prosperous and happy life, than the followers of Religion and Virtue; which ordinarily useth to fall forth in this life? For, the most wicked are Lords and Gods of this Earth, sleeping in the lee port of honour, as if the spacious habitation of the World had been made onely for them; and the virtuous and good, are but forlorn cast-awaies, floting in the surges of distress, seeming here either of the eye of providence not pittied, or not regarded: being subject to all dishonors, wrongs, wracks, in their best estate, passing away their daies (like the *Dazies* in the field) in silence and contempt. Sith then he is most good, most just, of necessity there must

must be appointed by him another time and place of retribution, in the which there shall be a reward for living well, and a punishment for doing evil, with a life whereinto both shall receive their due; and not onely in their Souls divested, for, sith both the parts of man did act a part in the right or wrong, it carrieth great reason with it, that they both be arraigned before that high Justice, to receive their own: Man is not a Soul onely, but a Soul and body, to which either guerdon or punishment is due. This seemeth to be the voice of Nature in almost all the Religions of the world; this is that general testimony, charactered in the minds of the most barbarous and savage people; for, all have had some roving gesses at ages to come, and a dim duskish light of another life, all appealing to one general Judgement Throne. To what else could serve so many expiations, sacrifices, prayers, solemnities, and mystical Ceremonies? To what such sumptuous Temples, and care of the Dead? to what all Religion? If not to shew that they expected a more excellent manner of being, after the navigation of this life did take an end. And who doth deny it, must deny that there is a Providence, a God, confess that his worship, and all study and reason of virtue are vain; and not believ that there is a world, are creatures, and that He himself is not what He is.

As those Images were pourtraicted in my mind (the morning Star now almost arising in the East) I found my thoughts mild and quiet calm; and not long after, my senses one by one forgetting their uses, began to give themselves over to rest, leaving me in a still and peaceable sleep; if sleep it may be called, where the mind awaking is carryed with free wings from out fleshly bondage? For heavy lids had not long covered their lights, when I thought, nay, sure I was where I might discern all in this great *All*, the large compass of the rolling Circles, the brightness and continual motion of those Rubies of the Night, which (by their distance) here below cannot be perceived; the silver countenance of the wandring Moon, shining by anothers light, the hanging of the Earth as (environed with a girdle of Chrystal) the Sun enthronized in the midst of the Planets, eye of the Heavens, Gem of this precious Ring the World. But whilst with wonder and amazement I gazed on those Celestial splendors, and the beaming Lamps of that glorious Temple, there was presented to my sight a Man, as in the Spring of his years, with that self-same grace, comely feature, Majestick look which the late ( ) was wont to have; on whom I had no sooner set mine eyes, when (like one Planet-stroken) I became amazed: But hee with a milde demeanour, and voice

surpassing

surpassing all humane sweetnesse, appeared (me thought) to say;

What is it doth thus anguish and trouble thee? Is it the remembrance of Death, the last Period of Wretchednes, and entry to these happy places; the Lantern which lightneth men to see the mystery of the blessednesse of Spirits, and that glory which transcendeth the Courtain of things visible? Is thy Fortune below on that dark Globe (which scarce by the smalnesse of it appeareth here) so great, that thou art heart-broken and dejected to leave it? What if thou wert to leave behind thee a ( ) so glorious in the eye of the World (yet but a Mote of Dust encircled with a Pond) as that of mine, so loving ( ) such great hopes, these had been apparent occasions of lamenting, and but apparent? Dost thou think thou leavest Life too soon? death is best young; things fair and excellent, are not of long endurance upon Earth. Who liveth well liveth long. Souls most beloved of their Maker, are soonest relieved from the bleeding cares of Life, and most swiftly wafted through the Surges of Humane miseries. Opinion that Great Enchantresse and peiser of things, not as they are but as they seem, hath not in any thing more, than in the conceit of Death abused man: Who must not measure himself, and esteem his estate, after his earthly being, which is but as a dream: For, though he be borne on the Earth, he is not born for the Earth, more than the Embryon for the Mothers Womb. It plaineth to be delivered of its bands, and to come to the light of this World; and Man waileth to be loosed from the Chaines with which he is fettered in that valley of vanities. It nothing knoweth whither it is to go, nor ought of the beauty of the visible works of God, neither doth man of the magnificence of the Intellectual World above, unto which (as by a Mid-wife) he is directed by Death. Fools, which think that this fair and admirable Frame, so variously disposed, so rightly marshalled, so strongly maintained, enriched with so many excellencies, not only for necessity, but for ornament and delight, was by that Supreme wisdom brought forth, that all things in a circulary course, should be and not be, arise and dissolve, and thus continue: as if they were so many Shadowes cast out and caused by the encountring of these Superiour Celestial bodies, changing onely their fashion and shape, or Fantastical Imageries, or prints of faces into Chrystal. No no, the Eternal Wisdome hath made man an excellent creature, though he fain would unmake himself, and return to nothing: And though he seek his felicity among the reasonless Wights, he hath fix-

fixed it above. Look how some Prince or great King on the Earth, when he hath raised any Stately City, the work being atchieved, is wont to set his Image in the midst of it, to be admired and gazed upon: No otherwise did the Soveraign of this All, the Fabrick of it perfected, place man (a great Miracle) formed to his own pattern, in the midst of this spacious and admirable City. God containeth all in him as the beginning of all; man containeth all in him as the midst of all; inferiour things be in man more noble than they exist; superiour things more meanly; Celestial things favour him, earthly things are vassalled unto him, he is the band of both; neither is it possible but that both of them have peace with him, who made the Covenant between them and him? He was made that he might in the Glasse of the world behold the infinite Goodnesse, Power and glory of his Maker, and beholding know and knowing Love, and loving enjoy, and to hold the Earth of him as of his Lord Paramount; never ceasing to remember and praise Him. It exceedeth the compasse of conceit, to think that that wisdome which made every thing so orderly in the parts, should make a confusion in the whole, and the chief Master-piece; how bringing forth so many excellencies for man, it should bring forth man for baseness and miserie. And no less strange were it, that so long life should be given to Trees, Beasts, and the Birds of the Air, Creatures inferiour to Man, which have less use of it, and which cannot judge of this goodly Fabrick; and that it should not be denyed to Man: unless there were another manner of living prepared for him, in a place more noble and excellent.

But alas! (said I) had it not been better that for the good of his native Countrey a ( ) endued with so many peerlesse gifts, had yet lived? How long will yee (replyed hee) like the Ants, think there are no fairer Palaces, than their Hills; or like to purblind Moles, no greater light, than that little which they shun? As if the Master of a Camp, knew when to remove a Sentinel, and he who placeth Man on the Earth, knew not how long he had need of him? Every one commeth there to act his part of this Tragi-Comedie, called life, which done, the Courtain is drawn, and he removing is said to dy. That Providence which prescribeth Causes to every event hath not onely determined a definite and certain number of daies, but of actions to all men, which they cannot go beyond.

Most ( ) then answered I, Death is not such an evil and pain, as it is of the Vulgar esteemed? Death said he

he) nor painful is, nor evil (except in contemplation of the cause) being of it self as indifferent as birth: yet can it not be denyed, and amidst those dreams of earthly pleasures, the uncouthnesse of it, with the wrong apprehension of what is unknown in it, are noysom. But the Soul sustained by its Maker, resolved, and calmly retired in it self, doth find that death (sith it is in a moment of Time) is but a short, nay, sweet sigh; and is not worthy the remembrance compared with the smallest dramm of the infinite Felicity of this Place. Here is the Palace Royal of the Almighty King, in which the uncomprehensible comprehensibly manifesteth Himself; in place highest, in substance not subject to any corruption or change, for it is above all motion, and solid turneth not; in quantity greatest, for, if one Starre, one Sphere be so vast, how large, how huge in exceeding demensions, must those bounds be, which do them all contain? In quality most pure and orient, Heaven here is all but a Sunne, or the Sunne all but a Heaven. If to Earthlings the Foot-stool of God, and that Stage which he raised for a small course of Time, seemeth so glorious and magnificent; What estimation would they make, if they could see, of his eternal Habitation and Throne? and if these be so wonderful, what is the sight of him, for whom and by whom all was created; of whose Glory to behold the thousand thousand part, the most pure Intelligencies are fully satiate, and with wonder and delight rest amazed; for the beauty of his light, and the light of His beauty are uncomprehensible? Here doth that earnest appetite of the understanding content it self, not seeking to know any more; For it seeth before it, in the vision of the Divine essence (a Miroir in the which not Images or shadows, but the true and perfect essence of every thing created, is more clear and conspicuous, than in it self) all that may be known or understood. Here doth the Will pause it self, as in the center of its Eternal rest, glowing with a fiery affection of that infinite and al-sufficient good; which being fully known, cannot for the infinite motives and causes of love which are in him) but be fully and perfectly loved: As he is onely the true and essential Bounty, so is he the onely essential and true beauty, deserving alone all Love and Admiration, by which the Creatures are onely in so much fair and excellent, as they participate of his Beauty and excelling Excellencies. Here is a blessed Company, every one joying as much in anothers Felicity, as in that which is proper, because each seeeth another equaly loved of God; thus their distinct joyes are no fewer, than the copartners of the Joy. And as the

Assembly is in number answerable to the large capacity of the place, so are the joyes answerable to the numberlesse number of the Assembly. No poor and pittiful mortal, confined on the Globe of *Earth*, who hath never seen but sorrow, or interchangeably some painted superficial pleasures, can righly think on, or be sufficient to conceive the termless delights of this place. So many Feathers move not on Birds, so many Birds dint not the Air, so many leaves tremble not on Trees, so many Trees grow not in the solitary Forests, so many waves turn not in the Ocean, and so many grains of Sand limit not those Waves: as this triumphant Court hath variety of delights, and Joies exempted from all comparison. Happiness at once here is fully known and fully enjoyed, and as infinite in continuance as extent. Here is flourishing and never-fading youth without Age, Strength without Weakness, Beauty never blasting, Knowledge without Learning, Abundance without Loathing, Peace without Disturbance, Participation without Envy, Rest without Labour, Light without rising or setting Sunne, Perpetuity without moments, for Time (which is the measure of Endurance) did never enter in this shining *Eternity*. Ambition, Disdain, Malice, Difference of Opinions, cannot approach this place, and resembling those foggy Mists, which cover those Lists of Sublunary things. All pleasure paragon'd with what is here is pain, all Mirth mourning, all Beauty deformity. Here one daies abiding, is above the continuing in the most fortunate estate on the Earth many years, and sufficient to countervail the extreamest torments of Life. But, although this bliss of *Souls* be great, and their joies many, yet shal they admit Addition, and bee more ful and perfect, at that long wished and general meeting with their bodies.

Amongst all the wonders of the great Creator, not one appeareth to be more wounderful (replied I) than that our Bodies should arise, having suffered so many changes, and nature denying a return from privation to a Habit.

Such power (said he) being above all that the Understanding of Man can conceave, may well work such wonders; For if Mans Vnderstanding could comprehend all the secrets and counsels of that Eternal Majesty, it must of necessity be equal unto it. The Author of Nature is not thralled to the Lawes of Nature, but worketh with them or contrary to them, as it pleaseth him: What he hath a will to do, he hath a power to perform. To that power which brought all this *All* from nought, to bring again in one instant any substance which ever was into it,

un-

unto what it was once, ſhould not be thought impoſſible; for who can do more can do leſs, and his power is no leſs after that which was by him brought forth is decaied and vaniſhed, than it was before it was produced; being neither reſtrained to certain limits, or inſtruments, or to any determinate and definite manner of working; where the power is without reſtraint, the work admitteth no other limits, than the Workers will. This world is as a Cabinet to God, in which the ſmall things (however to us hid and ſecret) are nothing leſs kept than the great. For, as he was wiſe and powerful to creat, ſo doth his knowledge comprehend his own Creation; yea every change and varity in it, of which it is the very Source. Not any Atom of the ſcatter'd Duſt of mankind, though daily flowing under new forms, is to him unknown: and his knowledge doth diſtinguiſh and diſcern, what once his power ſhall waken and raiſe up. Why may not the Arts-Maſter of the world, like a Molder, what he hath framed in divers ſhapes, confound in one maſs, and then ſeverally faſhion them out of the ſame? Can the Spargirick by his Art reſtore for a ſpace to the dry and withered Roſe, the natural purple and bluſh; and cannot the Almighty raiſe and refine the body of man, after never ſo many alterations on the Earth? Reaſon her ſelf finds it more poſſible for infinit power to caſt out from it ſelf a finit world, and reſtore any thing in it; though decaied and diſſolved, to what it was firſt; than for man, a finit piece of reaſonable miſery, to change the form of matter made to his hand; the power of God never brought forth all that it can, for then were it bounded, and no more infinit. That time doth approach (O haſt yetimes away) in which the dead ſhall live, and the living be changed, and of all actions the Guerdon is at hand; then ſhall there be an end without an end, time ſhall finiſh, and place ſhall be altered, motion yielding unto reſt, and another world of an age eternal and unchangeable ſhall ariſe; which when he had ſaid (me thought) he vaniſhed, and I all aſtoniſhed did awake.

To the Memory of the most Excellent Lady, JANE Countess of PERTH.

THis Beauty which Pale death in dust did turn,
And clos'd so soon within a Coffin sad,
Did, passe like Lightning, like to Thunder burn;
So little Life, so much of Worth it Had.

Heavens but to shew their Might here made it shine,
And when admir'd, then in the Worlds disdain
(O Tears, O Grief!) did call it back again,
Lest Earth should vaunt she kept what was Divine.

What can we hope for more? What more enjoy?
Sith fairest Things thus soonest have their End,
And, as on Bodies Shadowes do attend,
Sith all our blisse is follow'd with Annoy?

Yet She's not dead, She lives where She did love,
Her Memory on Earth, Her soul above.

To

To S. W. A.

THough I have twice been at the Doors of Death,
And twice found shut those Gates which ever mourn,
This but a lightning is, Truce tane to Breath,
For late-born Sorrows augurre fleet return.

Amidst thy sacred Cares, and Courtly toils,
Alexis, *when thou shalt hear wandring Fame*
Tell, Death hath triumph'd o're my mortal spoils,
And that on Earth I am but a sad Name;

If thou e're held me dear, by all our Love,
By all that Blisse, those Ioyes Heaven here us gave,
I conjure thee, and by the Maids of Jove,
To grave this short Remembrance on my Grave,

Here *Damon* lies, whose Songs did somtime grace
The murmuring *Esk*, may Roses shade the place.

On

On the Report of the Death of the Author.

IF that were true which whispered is by Fame,
That Damons *light no more on Earth doth burn,*
His Patron Phœbus *physick would disclaim,*
And cloth'd in clouds as erst for Phaeton *mourn.*

Yea, Fame *by this had got so deep a wound,*
That scarce She could have power to tell his death,
Her Wings cut short; who could her Trumpet sound,
Whose blaze of late was nurs'd but by his Breath.

That Spirit of his which most with mine was free,
By mutual traffick enterchanging store,
If chac'd from him it would have come to me,
Where it so oft familiar was before.

Some secret Grief distempring first my Mind,
Had (though not knowing) made me feel this losse;
A Sympathy had so our Souls combind,
That such a parting both at once would tosse.

Though such Reports to others terrour give,
Thy Heavenly Virtues who did never spy,
I know thou, that canst make the dead to live,
Immortal art, and needs not fear to dye.

Sir WILL. ALEXANDER.

FINIS.